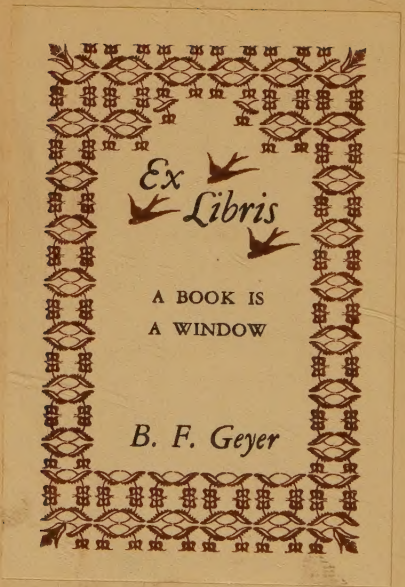


With love,
from
Jean Grant Altvogt
Daniel Judson Grant

B
LIN
Vol.III Beveridge, Albert J
Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858
5168

B
LIN
Vol.III
AUTHOR Beveridge, Albert J
TITLE Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858
5168
DATE DUE
BORROWER'S NAME

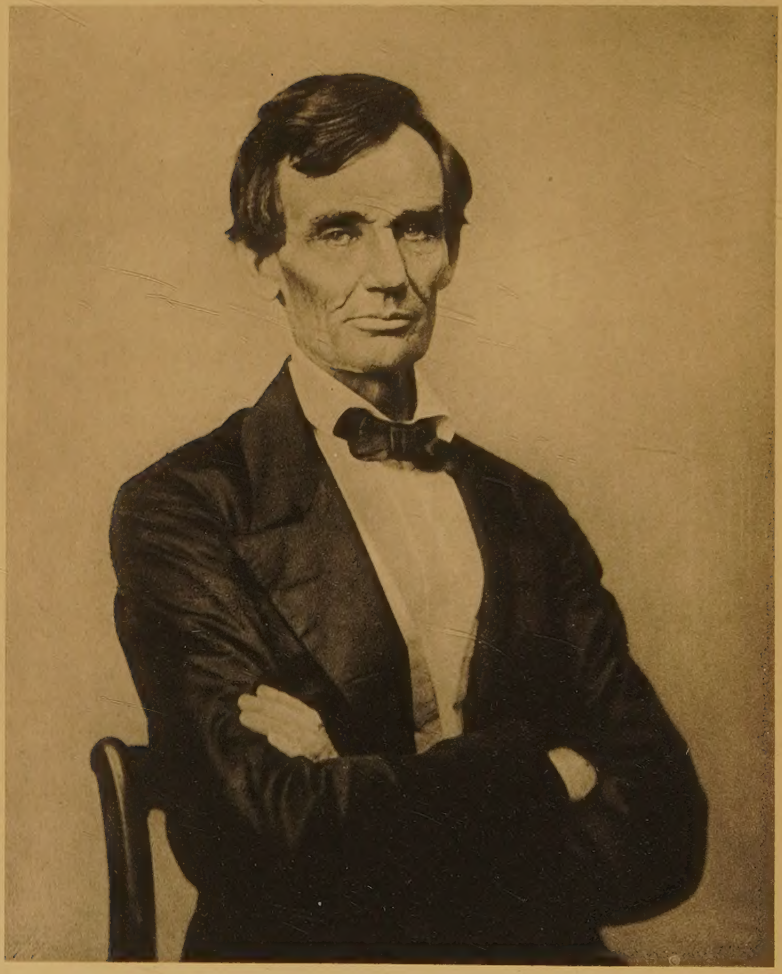
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

1809–1858

Standard Library Edition

In Four Volumes

VOLUME III



Abraham Lincoln

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

1809–1858

BY

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

With Illustrations

VOLUME III

LOUISE FOLSOM MEMORIAL LIBRARY
Plymouth Congregational Church, U.C.C.
501 West Berry
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

5168

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge

COPYRIGHT, 1928, BY CATHERINE BEVERIDGE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE · MASSACHUSETTS
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

CONTENTS

I. Seeds of War: Abolition Attack and Southern Defence 1

Mind and heart of the South — Divisions of Southern society — Their attitude towards slavery — Foreign visitors of the South — Miss Martineau — Life in cities and on plantations — Emancipation — Condition of the slaves — Nat Turner Insurrection — The Abolitionists — Herndon and Lincoln — Garrison's *Liberator* — Slavery a sin — Its cruelties and horrors — Miscegenation — Rev. George Bourne — Runaway slaves — The Fugitive Slave Law denounced — The Union — Replies from the South — Lincoln's acquaintance with slavery — Origin of slavery in the South — Inferiority of the negro — Effect of abolition — Southern care for its slaves — Holidays and amusements — Condition compared with labor conditions at the North — Slavery morally right — Southern ministers of the Gospel — Situation of the freed negro — Miscegenation — Equality in the Declaration of Independence — Sin of slavery — Negro question deeper than slavery question — Southern rights — National consolidation — States' rights and Southern conservatism — Fugitive slaves — Secession and disunion.

II. War Postponed: The Great Compromise 71

Southern Convention at Nashville called — Meeting of Congress — Disunion sentiments — Taylor's message — Clay offers his compromise — Opposed to secession — Jefferson Davis speaks — Address by Calhoun read by Mason — The Abolition crusade — A constitutional amendment — Resolutions of Southern States — Webster's Seventh of March Speech — Calhoun's reply — Seward's speech and a higher law — Douglas speaks for his party — Chase and Shields — Debate on disunion in the House — The Nashville Convention — Meetings in the South — Compromise measure passed — The Fugitive Slave Law — Abolition attacks on Webster — Whittier's 'Ichabod' — Disunion — 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' — Replies.

III. Western Development and Slavery 142

Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law — Southern Convention on Southern rights — The South and the Compromise Acts — Foote's resolution — Baltimore Convention and nomination of Pierce — Whigs name General Scott — Death of Henry Clay — Lincoln's oration — Douglas speaks at Richmond, Va. — The Scott Club and Lincoln — Reply to Douglas — Result of the election in Illinois — Death of Mrs. Douglas — Development of the West — Nebraska and a Pacific railroad — Benton and Atchison — The two Johnsons from Nebraska — Bill for organizing the Territory — Douglas reports the bill — Changes and Dixon's amendment — Chase and Sumner ask delay — The 'Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress' — Excitement over proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise — Douglas's castigation of Chase and Sumner — Opinion in Illinois — Sumner's 'Northern man with Southern principles' — Seward's prophecy — Discussion of measure in press and in Senate — Douglas's close — Houston's appeal.

IV. Political Merger: The First Great Speech 218

Rendition of Anthony Burns — Protest against the Nebraska Bill by clergymen — The Know-Nothing Party — Douglas denounces it at Phila-

delphia — Wave of temperance reform — Douglas's reception at Chicago — Speeches throughout the State — Lincoln's editorial — Douglas and Lincoln at Bloomington — Douglas speaks at Springfield — Lincoln answers Douglas in his 'Peoria' speech — Herndon's editorials — The Republican Party — Lincoln's avoidance — Alleged agreement with Douglas not to speak — Personal appeal of Lincoln — Democratic defeat — Lincoln a candidate for the Senate — Loses a vote in Sangamon County — Douglas supports Shields — Lyman Trumbull put forward — Plan to choose Matteson — Trumbull elected — Lincoln's explanation.

V. Confusion and Decision: Joining the Republican Party 291

Logan's outbreak — Maine Liquor Law — Lincoln's silence on issues — Polly's son — Thayer's Emigrant Aid Society — Charles Robinson — Speculations of Governor Reeder — Mark Delahay's newspaper — Stringfellow and Atchison — Pro-slavery vote from Missouri — Border Ruffians — Sharp's rifles — Reeder and the Legislature — Free-State Party — Lincoln to Speed on slavery — James H. Lane — Rival conventions — Treaty of Peace — John Brown — Lincoln's moderate speech at Springfield — Constructive treason — Buford's party — Sack of Lawrence — Pierce's message — Douglas's actions — Committee on Kansas — Sumner's speech — Douglas replies — Preston S. Brooks's assault on Sumner — Lincoln's politics — Nomination of Frémont — Herndon's call — Lincoln joins the Republican Party.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

CHAPTER I

SEEDS OF WAR: ABOLITION ATTACK AND SOUTHERN DEFENCE

You cannot, sir, indict a people. BURKE.

The Southern people are just what we would be in their situation. LINCOLN: Peoria Speech (1854).

In Dixie's land I'll take my stand,
And live and die in Dixie,
Away, away, away down South in Dixie. *Southern Song.*

FROM afar we now behold the approach of the catastrophe of civil war. We are to witness the spectacle of fewer than six million white people [1] defying more than three times their number, their resources even smaller than their man power, the very spirit of the age against them. High and low, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, men of all stations, callings and professions, are to take the field and fight, suffer and sacrifice with a desperation not often surpassed in the history of the world. Their women are to support them with fearless and heroic devotion.

A sight still more strange is to confront us. Four million slaves, greatly outnumbering the white women, children, and older men left behind, could end the conflict by rising and thus calling back to the rescue officers and privates in the armies; yet these hordes of slaves, even after their emancipation is declared, are to continue to serve the very people who are struggling for a cause of which slavery is an essential part.

What, then, was in the mind and heart of that people which moved them to take a course so fatal and sustained them in

[1] The total number of whites in the States that seceded was about 5,000,000. *Census*, 1860. But to these must be added hundreds of thousands from Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland who took the field or aided the Confederacy in other substantial ways.

pursuing it? What manner of people were they, what were their ideals, their habit of thought, their mode of life? Mistaken and impossible of permanent success even if temporarily victorious, as all now realize, wrong, as the judgment of mankind has decided it to have been, the struggle of the South for independence was one of the notable phenomena of human experience.

Southern thought and feeling grew ever more solid and ardent during a generation before the South risked her all in the hazard of battle; and knowledge of Southern sentiment is indispensable to an understanding of the controversy to which we are now to listen, of the crisis that will presently develop, of the conflict which finally is to result. Without such knowledge and understanding the historic debates before us are shorn of their meaning, and the words of Webster and Calhoun, of Seward and Davis, of Douglas and Lincoln, lose their significance. Moreover the attitude of Lincoln, before and during the war, otherwise puzzling, is clarified by a comprehension of the Southern point of view and the causes that produced it. Indeed, an understanding of the opinion, feeling, and life of the South is vital to any interpretation of Lincoln's career, which they so profoundly influenced.

Economic reasons for the Southern attitude were powerful; but by themselves they were not determinative. Differences on constitutional questions were almost as strong; yet they were not sufficient to explain all. Expectation of foreign assistance and Northern sympathy, hostility to coercion, and other reasons were factors in the final decision, and these we shall consider when that stirring moment arrives. Indeed coercion and defence against invasion were stronger influences in the hearts of tens of thousands than all those named put together. But through all other motives ran, like living and peculiarly sensitive nerves, the feeling that white supremacy, even social order itself, was in peril. On the part of the South the deepest roots of conflict were racial instinct and conservative character.

Until the time when Lincoln began life for himself among the rude cabins on the Sangamon bluffs, Southern society had remained much as it had been in Washington's day. The same

influence over public opinion by great planters, small in number, or by men of talent even though of humble origin, still prevailed. The sons of the more opulent were sent to Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, and a few to Oxford and Cambridge, as had been the case before and after the Revolution. The daughters were educated by tutors, mostly from the North, or were sent to Northern schools. They were carefully trained by their mothers in the graces and politenesses of life. The plantation mansion was the scene of social gayety as in years gone by.

The planter and his sons led outdoor lives as their fathers had done, riding about the plantation inspecting fields, fences, and ditches, directing overseers, talking with slaves, or hunting on horseback over old fields or through big woods. They were good horsemen and fine shots, loving all sport in the open, given to command, with that curious mingling of sternness and tact, gentleness and dignity which the daily life of the slave-holding planter engendered and nourished.[1] His wife and daughters drove in the family carriage as the women of like station had always done; if a man accompanied them, he commonly rode beside their carriage as an escort. Sir Charles Lyell recorded that the Southern planter's 'usual style of living is that of English country gentlemen.' [2] Family pride was almost a religion with this dominant group; [3] indeed, it extended beyond this

[1] 'The high sense of personal dignity with which the habit of authority and command inspires him [planter], makes him courteous in his manners, liberal in his sentiments, generous in his actions.' *American Quarterly Review*, 1827, as quoted in 'Plantation with Slave Labor and Free': U. B. Phillips, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, xxx, 744.

'The prudence, temper, and decision of character required to manage a plantation successfully is very great.' *Travels in North America in 1841–42:* Sir Charles Lyell, I, 147. Also *A Second Visit to the United States*, 1845: Lyell, I, 262.

Sir Charles Lyell was the most eminent geologist of his day. In his two extended journeys through the United States exclusively for scientific investigation he made note of social and economic conditions and his narrative and comment are perhaps the most impartial records of the South at that time.

[2] *Travels:* Lyell, I, 127, 144. Jan. 13, 1842. S. C. plantation. Also the *Western World:* Alexander Mackay, London, 1849, I, 206. Mackay was a journalist, sent in 1846 to Washington by the *Morning Chronicle* of London to report the debates in Congress on the Oregon question. Mackay had previously spent several years in the United States, and, when Congress adjourned, he made a tour of the country. Thus he wrote the book cited, which was highly regarded for accuracy and impartiality. Decided in his views against slavery, his report of what he saw and heard is unbiased.

[3] Mackay, II, 85–6.

circle and may be said to have been a distinctive element of the social structure of the South.[1]

Through and through this upper stratum of Southern society was favorable to negro slavery — *if* the blacks were to remain in the United States.

The bottom layer of Caucasian society in the South was, in every particular, except that of race, the reverse of the dominant order. This lowest stratum was made up of white people who, steeped in poverty, were, as a class, shiftless, unmoral, without social standing, and devoid of a wish for advancement. These 'poor whites,' as they were called, were found in the pine barrens of the South, usually squatters, and isolated from contact with the surrounding farms and plantations. They were, in part, persons to whom a half-vagabond life among the sandhills and scrub pines of the gentle Southern climate appealed irresistibly.

They lived in log cabins, without floors or windows, often thatched merely with brush and leaves, and filled with dirty, unkempt children.[2] Their most notable characteristic was indolence; they lived from hand-to-mouth, drank much whisky, lounged in the sun, and slept. Many were snuff-dippers, and some were clay-eaters. The women indolently 'tended' small truck patches, while the men spent their time fishing or hunting.[3] They were ignorant, stupid, and incredibly superstitious. They were not attached to the soil, and, at intervals, moved from place to place without apparent reason. Even the slaves

[1] For an extravagantly laudatory description of this class, see *Social Relations in our Southern States:* Daniel Robinson Hundley, 27–70. This author was born near Triana, Ala., but graduated from Harvard Law School, where he went from Bacon College, Harrodsburg, Ky.

[2] Of the poor whites of Georgia Frances Anne (Fanny) Kemble writes: 'These wretched creatures will not, for they are whites (and labour belongs to blacks and slaves alone here), labour for their own subsistence. They are hardly protected from the weather by the rude shelters they frame for themselves in the midst of these dreary woods. Their food is chiefly supplied by shooting the wild fowl and venison, and stealing from the cultivated patches of the plantations nearest at hand. Their clothes hang about them in filthy tatters, and the combined squalor and fierceness of their appearance is really frightful. This population is the direct growth of slavery.' *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation,* 92–3.

[3] Dr. Charles Wardell Stiles in 1902 showed the prevalence of the hookworm disease in areas the poor whites had inhabited for generations and its agency in producing the ills suffered by these squatters — such as clay-eating, resin-chewing and almost unconquerable indolence. See also Buck in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXI, 41.

looked with contempt upon the 'pore white trash;' and they, in turn, had a 'downright envy and hatred of the black man.' [1] They also hated the ruling class venomously, but they regarded it as the rightful source and director of social order and political power.

In spite of these complex cross-currents, the 'poor whites' were, as a class, almost solidly for negro slavery. Mrs. Kemble declared that 'to the crime of slavery, though they have no profitable part or lot in it, they are fiercely accessory, because it is the barrier that divides the black and white races, at the foot of which they lie wallowing in unspeakable degradation, but immensely proud of the base freedom which still separates them from the lash-driven tillers of the soil.' [2] The fact that they were white was their one and only badge of superiority. Deeper than all other considerations was their racial feeling.[3]

Next above the 'poor whites' came the small farmers, or yeomen, most of whom tilled their own limited acres. Now and then they owned one or two slaves. They and their sons worked in the fields along with their black labor, and were very proud of being slave-holders.[4] From this class Calhoun sprang, his father owning a little farm and a single slave. Southern writers said that their farmers were much like the average New England farmer. They wanted to improve their condition and advance that of their children. They were very religious and nearly all belonged to some church.

They, also, were a unit for slavery, *if* the negroes were to

[1] Hundley, 293.

[2] Kemble, 184. 'Fanny' Kemble, the English actress, married Pierce [Mease] Butler, grandson of Senator Pierce Butler of South Carolina, and lived for a time on the Butler plantations in Georgia, regarded as among the best of their type. As mistress of a household her testimony is better than that of the occasional visitor to the South. She was strongly prejudiced against slavery, but was a keen and intelligent observer. Her journal, in the form of letters written from Georgia in the winter and spring of 1838–9, to her friend Elizabeth Dwight Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, is fresh and vivid to-day.

[3] 'Where slavery exists, it is, as Mr. Burke remarks, "not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege" to be free. This remark . . . is peculiarly true of slavery as it is in the southern states. Here the slave is black, and the white man never is a slave. . . . It is certainly well calculated to inspire the humblest white man with a high sense of his own comparative dignity and importance, to see a whole class below him in the scale of society.' Abel P. Upshur in *Southern Literary Messenger*, v, 678 (1839).

[4] Hundley, 197–8.

stay in the South. They did not want the hordes of slaves who surrounded them placed on an equality with themselves.[1] From the yeomanry came most of the overseers of the big plantations.[2]

Another class, chiefly living in the mountains of East Tennessee, Kentucky, and West Virginia, owned no slaves, seldom saw a negro, had little contact with the people of the plains and cities, and felt none of that passionate State pride, which, as we shall see, burned in the hearts of the men and women of the South. They were suspicious, daring, fierce, with native ability undeveloped and untrained because of their isolation and remoteness. On account of their brusque yet furtive manners they made a bad impression on such travellers as penetrated their fastnesses.[3] As an element of the Southern people they were so exceptional, as hardly to be included in an analysis of Southern society. They were for the Nation, rather than the State, for the freedom rather than the bondage of the blacks, and, regarded during the war as Union men, they were to be a thorn in the very heart of the Confederacy.

Between the yeomanry and the great planters was an important social and political stratum, loosely termed the middle class, difficult to define. It furnished lawyers, doctors, and preachers, although the farmers also supplied many Methodist and Baptist pulpits, and sons of great planters also sometimes went into the professions. Teachers and college professors usually came from this rank of Southern society; but here again, the 'best families' also supplied educators. Merchants, too, were generally of this order, as were contractors, bankers, the projectors and builders of railways and canals. So were artisans and me-

[1] *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States:* Frederick Law Olmsted, 573. 'I wouldn't like to hev 'em freed, if they was gwine to hang 'round.' An Alabama farmer to Olmsted, 1853.

Olmsted, the great landscape-gardener, at the age of thirty-one, made a tour on horseback through the South. He was a native of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale. He was opposed to slavery, but his comment is intelligent, without intentional bias, and trustworthy.

[2] Hundley, 219.

[3] *Slave States of America:* J. S. Buckingham, II, 155–7. This author was a member of Parliament, a temperance lecturer, and a strenuous antagonist of slavery. Accompanied by his wife, he made an extended tour of the Southern States in 1839, and his volumes are fairly accurate.

chanics and many of the well-to-do farmers. Indeed the largest number of this element was agricultural. Jefferson's father was one of these, and the parents of Marshall were from this virile group. Many of the thousands of Northern men in the South were members of this social order, although some of them were allied to the aristocracy. Even the sovereign planters considered the thrifty, energetic, and intelligent middle class as the 'backbone' of the South.

In that class was a conviction that slavery was the only possible relation that could exist between whites and blacks — *if* the two races were to live together peaceably in the same community. Neither the rich planters nor the poor whites were more ardent in support of negro slavery than was this substantial element.[1] After 1830 the intelligence and the entire press of the South came to be the aggressive advocates of that institution.

The more wealthy and cultivated of the middle class helped appreciably in the maintenance of those social circles, the heart of which was the families of great planters. These social groups strongly impressed all European visitors who came in contact with them. Richmond, Savannah, Charleston, Mobile, Natchez, and New Orleans were distinguished in this respect; and smaller towns vied successfully with the cities. Good manners were cultivated for their own sake, courtesy was a habit of life. So striking was this fact that impartial travellers went out of their way to make note of and praise it.

Most of these observers paid especial tribute to the society of Charleston, where the city residences were 'of a dazzling white, with green Venetian blinds,' the verandas 'adorned with vines,' while those in the suburbs were equally beautiful and 'embowered in foliage.'[2] Richmond 'enchanted' Chevalier,[3] although he was 'shocked' by the sight of so many slaves who 'morally, . . . are treated as if they did not belong to the human race.' Yet, he wrote, the Virginian was 'frank, hearty, open, cordial in his

[1] *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States:* Michael Chevalier, 98. Chevalier was sent here by the French Government in 1834 to report upon conditions, and his book, made up of official letters to Thiers, is without prejudice.

[2] Mackay, II, 179. [3] Chevalier, 325–7.

manners, noble in his sentiments, elevated in his notions;' there was 'no place in the world in which he would not appear to advantage;' but he was 'better able to command men than to conquer nature and subdue the soil.' [1]

Buckingham was captivated by Charleston, notwithstanding her hosts of slaves; 'the women were handsomer, more graceful, and more ladylike,' he noted, 'than those of the same classes in the North;' every well-to-do family had a chaise, and the wealthy had as fine carriages and horses as the best in Europe. The veteran traveller declared that in Charleston there was more literary taste than elsewhere in America, and European writers were better known than in Boston 'and with less pretention.' [2]

Buckingham thought that, in general, 'the graceful ease and quiet elegance of Southern families' were in striking contrast with the manners of the North,[3] where, complained Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley, 'nobody was still for half a minute.' [4] Mackay was strongly impressed by the people generally of all the seaboard Southern States. 'There is a purity of tone and an elevation of sentiment, together with an ease of manner and a general social aplomb, which are only to be found united in a truly leisure class.' [5]

The wealthy nephew of Napoleon, Achille Murat, who became an American citizen, was ecstatic over Charleston; it was, he declared, 'the city *par excellence* of American society and luxury.' Its social life was 'by far the best' he had seen either in Europe or America — the 'finish . . . and real talents of the men and women' were quite splendid, he declared. In fact, Murat found that 'the manners of the South are elegant to perfection,' especially throughout Virginia.[6] Mackay wrote that it would be

[1] Chevalier, 114–5. [2] Buckingham, I, 74–81.

[3] *Ib.*, 122–6, 148–51.

[4] *Travels in the United States during* 1849 *and* 1850: Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley, II, 279. Lady Emmeline travelled a great deal and wrote more, chiefly in verse. Her book on America was made up of letters written to friends during her tour and, later, arranged in the form of a narrative. Although a valuable source, it is obviously partial and her statements, while truthful, are one-sided.

[5] Mackay, I, 207.

[6] *America and the Americans:* Achille Murat, 17, 247. Although intensely partial to the South, this book is a valuable source. Murat was a son of the King of Naples and his

hard to find anywhere 'a more agreeable and hospitable people than those of Charleston;' and the Scotch journalist contrasted them with the brusqueness and 'pretension' of Northern cities. The people of Charleston, with their 'frankness and urbanity,' put the stranger 'completely at his ease,' notwithstanding 'the swarms of negroes' hard at work all about him, albeit, 'singing, whistling or grimacing' as they toil. The city gave tone to the whole State which, socially, was much like Virginia and Maryland.

Even the acidulous English spinster and critic of the South, Harriet Martineau, testified that Charleston 'deserves its renown for hospitality;' and she described the delightful attentions paid to her while a guest of that city in 1833.[1] Would she not stay a month, a year, ten years? She would change her opinion about slavery if she would live in the South for a while,

consort, a sister of Napoleon. He was highly educated in Europe, and came to the United States in his twenty-first year because of the hostility of the Powers to blood relations of his uncle.

After a prolonged tour of the country, he selected Florida as his permanent residence and, being very rich, bought a great estate and built a magnificent house near Tallahassee. Largely through the management of Lafayette on his visit to the United States in 1826, Murat married a grandniece of Washington.

His book, quoted in the text, was compiled after his death from his careful letters to Count Thibaudeau of Belgium. Another work by Murat on the principles of the American government had an immense success in Europe, being translated into many languages and running through more than fifty editions. It was suppressed in Italy and Austria.

[1] *Retrospect:* Martineau, 224–5. Miss Martineau says that six carriages were placed at her disposal by friends of her hostess, servants came to her room every morning for orders, she always found 'some pretty present' sent her each day — a bouquet, a fan, a cambric handkerchief, fruit, a dish of preserves; her meals were sent to her room where a fire was always made when the weather was cool; she joined the family when she pleased; her clothes were neatly placed in a chest of drawers, an article of furniture very rare in America, she declared, etc.

Miss Martineau's writings began to appear when she was thirty years old and, thereafter, poured from the press in incredible quantities. She wrote books, pamphlets and tracts on an amazing variety of subjects — religion, government, economics, sociology, hymnology, revenue and transportation, sickness and health, mesmerism, currency, philosophy, women, forestry, travel, marriage, society, etc. She was prolific in poetry and a reformer of everything. She produced nearly a hundred volumes and besides wrote many articles for magazines and reviews.

Miss Martineau was very deaf and used an ear-trumpet. Although bitterly hostile to slavery and not opposed to the marriage of negroes and whites, she obviously tried to tell the truth.

Three of her volumes are used in this work: *Retrospect of Western Travel,* 1838; *Society in America,* 1837; and *Views of Slavery and Emancipation,* 1837, drawn from *Society in America.*

her host assured her.[1] New Orleans was scarcely less attractive socially to Miss Martineau, although she was horrified to find that 'quadroon connections . . . were all but universal.'[2] She described the houses, the dinners and teas, the small talk, the music, the 'lovely' drives in the country. 'Gardens of roses bewildered the imagination.' Miss Martineau found even the slave quarters pleasing to the eye: 'The cottages of the negroes were embowered in green . . . with thickets of fig and catalpa and rows of Pride-of-India trees.'[3] Mobile was like a dream — 'villas and cottages surrounded with luxuriant growth of Cherokee roses, honeysuckles and myrtles, while groves of orange trees appeared in the background.'[4]

Nor did Miss Martineau find the life of the planter's family in the country and far from a city greatly unlike that in the social centers. Again there were carriages, morning visitors, books, noble houses, bountiful dinners, and young women singing at the piano, fresh bouquets in her room every morning.[5] Yet the wife of a planter 'in the bitterness of her heart' confided to Miss Martineau, 'that a planter's wife was only "the chief slave of the harem."'[6]

But Miss Martineau was surprised by the slave quarters to which the planter's wife took her. 'Your hostess is well-known on the plantation, and her kind face has been recognized at a distance, and already a negro woman has come up to her with seven or eight eggs, for which she knows she will receive a quarter of a dollar. You follow her to the negro quarter, where you see a tidy woman knitting, while the little children who are left in her charge are basking in the sun, or playing all kinds of antics in the road; little shining, plump, clear-eyed children, whose mirth makes you sad when you look around upon their parents and see what these bright creatures are to come to.'[7]

The fervid Lady Emmeline Stuart-Wortley found New Or-

[1] *Retrospect:* Martineau, 226–7. Mackay recorded that the families of neighbors and other guests would visit for weeks at the house of a big planter. Everybody rode in the morning, went in out of the heat at eleven o'clock, joined in amusement in the late afternoon and devoted the evenings to music and dancing. Mackay, II, 81–2.

[2] *Society in America:* Martineau, I, 80. [3] *Retrospect:* Martineau, 272–6.

[4] *Ib.*, 274. [5] *Ib.*, 216–8. [6] *Society:* Martineau, II, 81.

[7] *Retrospect:* Martineau, I, 218–9; II, 9.

leans and Mobile surrounded by charming villas; and, wherever she went, attractive ladies invariably took her driving in fine carriages. She was especially captivated by the women of Mobile, some of whom she described as among 'the most delightful people in the world.' The plantation house of President Taylor's son near Natchez was 'extremely nice, most tastefully decorated and excellently furnished, the walls covered with prints' and the whole house 'scrupulously neat and clean.' Like Miss Martineau, Lady Emmeline was surprised by the appearance of the slave children. 'It cannot be imagined how nice and clean they looked. . . . Such good natured, raven roly-polies, I never saw collected together before.' Yet even on this estate she saw slaves almost white, a sight that met the eye of all travellers in the South.[1]

Northern visitors were scarcely less laudatory. Joseph Holt Ingraham, the author, when a young man writing his pirate stories, told with the enthusiastic fancy of youth and obvious partiality of his visit to the South in 1834. A plantation in Louisiana was, to him, a vision of beauty; and its loveliness was enhanced by the neat slave cottages clustered in a square of magnolias under which negro children gambolled.[2] Yet even the romantic and infatuated young New Englander admitted that, out in the country, he did find a front yard of a rich planter filled with cattle, sheep, horses, dogs, pickaninnies and chickens; the master sitting on the veranda, without coat, vest or shoes, his feet on the railing and playing, 'in high glee' with negro children; while his nephew of fourteen lay asleep in a hammock, a 'strapping negress' waving over him a plume of pea-fowl feathers to keep away the flies. Still, he contended, the interior of such establishments was always 'elegant.'[3]

Ingraham was equally pleased with the country social life of Mississippi. Because of the education and manners of the

[1] Stuart-Wortley, I, 218–9, 235–6, 250–8; II, 153.

[2] *The Southwest, by a Yankee:* Joseph Holt Ingraham, I, 80–2. N.Y., 1835. Ingraham was a native of Maine, a sailor, and participated in a South American revolution. He became professor of languages in a Southern institution. At the time he wrote the *Southwest* he was an opponent of slavery, but even more of abolitionism; after living several years in Mississippi he became a strong supporter of slavery.

[3] *Ib.*, II, 98–100.

daughters of planters 'every village can draw around it a polished circle of its own,' and even on remote plantations 'elegant women may often be found blooming in the depths of forests far in the interior.' [1]

In short, the foreign traveller and Northern visitor, nearly all of whom were opposed to slavery, wrote glowingly of the better classes in the cities and on the plantations of the South; and all of these observers made particular mention of the accomplishments of Southern women. Some impartial investigators, however, were not so enchanted. In 1853, Olmsted, for instance, found Richmond women 'fair, refined and serene' but without the old-time Virginia 'dignity and stateliness,' while the men, although tall and animated, were not sturdy and robust.[2] While Charleston looked old, it had 'adopted the requirements of modern luxury with an ill grace;' and the white laboring class were as closely packed and lived in as much 'filth and squalor' as workingmen in the North, and showed more brutality and ruffianism than their Northern brothers.

Moreover the military atmosphere annoyed Olmsted — the drumming, the parading, the cannon in place, the citadel and 'especially, the numerous armed-police.' [3] Mrs. Kemble admitted that the manners of Southern men, judged by English standards, were 'infinitely better' than those of the North, but asserted that upon more familiar acquaintance the men showed 'haughty overbearing irritability, effeminate indolence, reckless extravagance, and a union of profligacy and cruelty, which is the immediate result of their irresponsible power over their dependents.' [4] The dominant bearing of Southern men, their quick-

[1] Ingraham, I, 207–9.

[2] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 50.

[3] *Ib.*, 404.

[4] Kemble, 392. She states, however, elsewhere: 'But the devil must have his due, and men brought up in habits of peremptory command over their fellow men, and under the constant apprehension of danger, and awful necessity of immediate readiness to meet it, acquire qualities precious to themselves and others in hours of supreme peril.' *Ib.*, 378–9.

'It is only under a system, which promotes a laxity of habits, blunts the moral perceptions, engenders leisure, and fosters pride, that could arise those quick resentments, that morbid sensitiveness, that false sense of honour, that proneness to quarrel, and that indifference to human life, which so broadly distinguish genuine society in the South from the Anglo-Saxon type which it has preserved in the North. There is something un-

ness to fight and other characteristics impressed Miss Martineau unfavorably; but, she wrote, 'what can be expected from little boys who are brought up to consider physical courage the highest attribute of manhood; pride of section and of caste its loftiest grace.' [1]

Such, in general, was Southern society when the acrimonious controversy to which we are now to listen may be said to have begun. Except the mountain farmers, the people of the South were practically unanimous for slavery; provided — always provided — that the negro was to continue to abide among them. Upon that point there was sharp division. Many thought that the negroes should be emancipated — but deported, colonized in Africa from whence they came.[2] And nearly all — even the defenders of slavery as a permanent institution — believed that slave conditions should be ameliorated and the blacks improved in every way consistent with their dependent and subordinate station.

But freed! Made social and political equals with the white race, and still live alongside white men and women in the same place? Never! In the Senate in 1839, Clay thus expressed Southern feeling: 'In the slave States the alternative is, that the white man must govern the black, or the black govern the white.' [3]

The slaves were about as they had been when Washington was President — the same plantation discipline, the same white overseers, the same 'drivers' who nearly always were slaves themselves, the same negro characteristics. There were, too, the same class distinctions, among the blacks, which were so noticeable in former times — in fact, social lines among the slaves were more rigid than among the whites. The slaves of a rich planter, or of a politically or socially prominent master, were absurdly proud of their connection with greatness and power, and would have nothing to do with fellow bondsmen who were

favourable to the development of the better feelings of our nature, when the mind becomes reconciled to a monstrous violation of the laws of nature.' Mackay, II, 136.

[1] *Society:* Martineau, II, 88.

[2] The colonization scheme encountered some bitter hostility in the South.

[3] Speech in Senate, Feb. 7, 1839. *Works,* VIII, 151.

owned by the poor or inconspicuous. Neither would house servants recognize field hands; while all slaves also estimated their social standing by their value in the market.[1]

In describing the condition of the slaves, casual visitors were at a disadvantage and even long residence could not make them acquainted with more than local conditions. In the border states — Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Tennessee — the worse features of slavery had almost disappeared.[2] The want of slave crops and the pressure of competition from the neighboring free states, had done much to soften the harsher aspects of slave relations. In the more southern states the distinction between city and interior, between house servants and field hands was marked, and the more obvious treatment given to house hands created an atmosphere which is in part responsible for the romantic and sentimental accounts of the travellers. On large plantations — cotton and sugar — the more forbidding conditions of slavery became apparent, and this was especially the case where the overseer ruled in place of the absentee owner and large numbers of slaves were herded under the control of one white man, absolute in his rule and liable to the evils which uncontrolled power gave.[3]

Most of the slaves, it was claimed, were care-free and content;[4] but among them were some who were rebellious, others who were quarrelsome, some who were criminals by nature.

[1] Ingraham, II, 30–2.

[2] In their report on the condition of American churches in 1833–4, the English clergymen, Reed and Matheson, said that Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky were then 'prepared for emancipation' and that Maryland was 'resolved on it.' *Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches:* Andrew Reed, D.D. and James Matheson, D.D., London, 1835, II, 264–5.

[3] Kemble, 388.

[4] 'Even freedom is scarcely a blessing to him [the slave], for the eternal brand is upon his face — his caste is irrevocably fixed — and although he may cease to acknowledge a master, he can never cease to belong to the lowest class of mankind. . . . Freedom is no boon to them, since it brings with it all the cares and difficulties of self-dependence, without any of the usual advantages of independence in thought and action. The African slave is contented from necessity. He has no motive to quarrel with a lot which he knows he cannot change, and the burthens of which are best relieved by a cheerful discharge of the duties which attend them. . . . In no part of the world has the laboring class been more distinguished for contentment, cheerfulness, and even gaiety; and such the negro slave will always be, if he be not taught to feel or to imagine other evils than those which his condition itself imposes on him.' Upshur, 686.

Punishment was the same kind as that administered in colonial times — whip, shackle, stock, solitary confinement. If employed unreasonably or immoderately, force had a bad effect upon the temper and morale of the negroes. When dissatisfied or resentful they did not work steadily or well, and the plantation was not so productive.[1] Wholly aside from the impulses of humanity, economic results constituted a powerful restraint to harsh treatment of any unit of the planter's working force.[2] Yet there were numerous cases of brutality and vile conduct by overseers and even by masters.[3] It was a curious fact that the poor man who owned but two or three slaves was far harsher in his treatment of them than were the great planters.

Slaves sometimes ran away just as they had done in the time of Washington, who had signed the first fugitive slave bill. It was this statute that the owners of runaway slaves invoked and which the antagonists of slavery so furiously denounced and sought to nullify, until the enactment of the harsher law of 1850. In spite of a high death-rate the negroes were prolific and rapidly increased in numbers, even after the importation of slaves legally ceased in 1808.[4]

The Southern people took the existence of slavery as a matter of course. They had been born among slaves as their fathers and mothers had been for several generations. It was an immemorial relation. Nothing seemed to be more natural. Nor generally did the sale of slaves appear to them to be wrong. For at least two

[1] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 198. 'That slaves . . . very frequently can not be made to do their master's will, I have seen much evidence. . . . When they are directed to do anything for which they have a disinclination, they undertake it in such a way that the desired result is sure not to be accomplished.'

[2] See Phillips in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, xxx, 740–4.

[3] Slavery 'appears in its true light, in its real character, in all its revolting atrocities, in the cotton-growing States. Whatever hideousness may be imparted to it by severity of toil and brutality of treatment, it there assumes without a mask. . . . The candour of every American citizen who has travelled in the South will bear me out in the assertion, that, in the practical working of slavery in the cotton-growing districts, humanity is the exception, and brutality the rule.' Mackay, II, 125. For the other side see *American Negro Slavery:* Ulrich B. Phillips, 293, 306.

[4] Fanny Kemble describes the infant mortality on the Butler plantation and gives many instances of the waste involved. Of a number of pregnant women who came to ask for a longer interval of rest after child-bearing she wrote: 'All these women had had large families, and *all* of them had lost half their children, and several of them had lost more.' Kemble, 220–1, 232, and the individual cases on 240–3.

centuries the traffic had been going on in the South, and the Southern mind was accustomed to it. Thus while the demand for slave labor following the application of steam and machinery to the cotton industry prodigiously increased the demand for slaves and resulted in slave-breeding to supply the ever increasing market, even that repellent industry shocked but few of the Southern people, and was taken as a matter of course by them.

Much of their inheritances and the larger portion of their investments were in slaves, and to a far greater extent than had been the case with their ancestors. Why should they not dispose of their property as their fathers had done? they asked. Yet many slave-holders thought slavery to be a moral wrong, more felt it to be vexatious and annoying, others considered it to be an economic error, and still others believed it to be debasing to the character of white owners.[1] Here and there, indeed, slave-holders emancipated their negroes, and from this source sprang the free blacks, who by reproduction became numerous.

Southern sentiment for emancipation was neither wide-spread nor vehement. During the first decades of the Republic, it found expression, as in the notable debates in the Legislature of Virginia in 1831–32, but never took form in legislation. The occasion for these debates was the famous Nat Turner Insurrection in Southampton County during August, 1831. Nat Turner was a slave, whose master had taught him to read and write, and as a Baptist preacher with these accomplishments had acquired great influence over the negroes of the countryside. Turner went about secretly telling the blacks of the bloody glories of their race in Santo Domingo, and he finally aroused them to emulate the atrocities of their brethren on that island.

The uprising was planned for a time when most white men were absent from the vicinity at a camp-meeting. On August 22,

[1] 'Of a truth, there exists a free people even in the Southern slave States, who are silently laboring in the work of emancipation.' *America of the Fifties: Letters:* Fredrika Bremer, 131. Miss Bremer was a Swedish novelist who visited the United States in 1849 and her letters giving her impressions were printed in two volumes, *Homes of the New World* (1853), and a selection of the letters in 1924 in the work named above. An ardent Abolitionist, she yet declared: 'That which the North testifies against the South I will not believe; but that which the South testifies against itself I am compelled to believe.' Bremer, 110.

Turner and his band murdered sixty-one whites, nearly all of whom were women and children. Savage barbarities were committed. The negroes went wild with ferocity and bathed their arms in blood.[1]

While at first it was believed that Turner was merely insane and the Southampton uprising due solely to his crazed influence over his credulous and superstitious followers, a view developed later that Northern Abolitionists were at the bottom of the horror. Governor John Floyd of Virginia so declared in his message to the Legislature in December, 1831. Negro preachers, he said, were easily incited to stir up trouble; and he had reason to think that 'unrestrained fanatics' from other States had so worked upon the diseased mind of Nat Turner. He urged the Legislature to pass more repressive slave laws.[2] So came about the heated and picturesque debate at Richmond during the winter of 1831–32.

The Nat Turner insurrection had a peculiar and vivid meaning to Southern people, scarcely realized in the North. The massacre of the whole white population of Santo Domingo by negroes and mulattoes, after they had been emancipated and had taken charge of the government, was ever present in Southern minds.[3] They contrasted the peace, order, and pro-

[1] *The Nat Turner Insurrection:* Richmond, 1831. Turner and such of his followers as were captured, were regularly tried in Richmond, convicted, and executed during September and October, 1831.

[2] Message of Governor John Floyd to the General Assembly of Virginia, Dec. 6, 1831. *House Journal,* 1831–2, 9–10.

[3] There were two negro uprisings in Santo Domingo: the first on Aug. 23, 1791; the second, involving the wholesale butchery of white people, which so horrified and alarmed the South, was in August, 1804.

There had been slave uprisings before that of Nat Turner, as the plot of Denmark Vesey, a free negro, in Charleston, in 1822.

The South feared the slaves in spite of brave words to the contrary. James McDowell, Jr., speaking in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1832 on the Nat Turner uprising, said bluntly that the terror inspired by that occasion arose from the '*suspicion eternally attached to the slave himself;* the suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every family.' Another delegate, Henry Berry, predicted that a '*death-struggle must come between the two classes, in which one or the other will be extinguished forever.*' *Slave Insurrections:* Joshua Coffin, 32–3.

'I know that the southern men are apt to deny the fact that they do live under an habitual sense of danger; but a slave population, coerced into obedience, though unarmed and half fed, *is* a threatening source of constant insecurity, and every southern *woman* to whom I have spoken on the subject, has admitted to me that they live in terror of their slaves.' Kemble, 379.

sperity of that island while slavery prevailed, to the slaughter, pillage, rapine, and economic desolation that followed negro freedom, and they firmly believed that a similar fate would befall the South under the same condition. And here, said many, was proof of it — the Southampton tragedy was but the first spark of a conflagration like that of Santo Domingo, which would occur throughout the South if the slaves should be freed, or if Abolitionists were allowed to 'scatter their firebrands.' [1]

On the other hand so strong had become the sentiment in Virginia in 1832 against slavery that some of the House of Delegates boldly advocated emancipation.[2] Yet within three years few could be found in the South who would express, openly at least, such an opinion. The cause of this speedy and extreme development of Southern thought and feeling was the abolition assault, which, *as an organized movement*, began in 1830.

The number of the Abolitionists is unknown, but it was probably greater than has been supposed. Clay declared in the Senate that by 1850 they dominated both political parties in the North; but this was really because each party strove to capture the anti-slavery vote in order to carry local and State elections. Whatever their numerical strength, they led the anti-slavery and anti-Southern movement; they sounded the aggressive note. All Southern writers, statesmen, and politicians thought that abolitionism was the source of Northern hostility to slavery and to the South itself; and, as will presently appear, every

[1] 'We of the South are emphatically surrounded . . . by a dangerous class of beings — degraded, stupid savages,' who would repeat Santo Domingo, if they were made to believe that death would not follow their insurrection. *Maryville* (Tenn.) *Intelligencer* as quoted in *The Constitution, a Pro-Slavery Compact:* Wendell Phillips, Abolition pamphlet, 3d ed., 208.

[2] Few of them, however, suggested that the blacks should remain in Virginia after they were freed. Thomas Roderick Dew, in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 420–1. When he wrote this essay, which became the basis of Southern literature on slavery, Dew was thirty-one years old and was professor of Metaphysics and Political Economy in William and Mary College, of which he finally became President. One of the most brilliant of Southern scholars, he was very frail physically, and died in Paris in his forty-second year, while abroad on his honeymoon.

Pro-Slavery Argument, published in 1852, contained essays of four leading Southern authorities on slavery, Professor Dew, Senator Hammond of South Carolina, William Harper, and William Gilmore Simms. It was regarded at the time as the best defence of slavery.

Simms was outstanding in American literature and foremost among the writers produced by the South before the war.

essay, pamphlet, and book on the subject, without exception, whether written by Southern or Northern men, as well as every speech by any spokesman of the South during the period we are now considering, was largely in reply to assertions of abolition crusaders. Had it not been for what they said and did and the fear and anger they aroused, it is not altogether impossible that there would have been no war and that slavery would in time have given way to the pressure of economic forces. Sharp distinction must be made between the Abolitionists and all other anti-slavery forces such as the Free-Soilers.[1] Yet in the mind of the South, abolitionism finally came to represent the Northern attitude.

Lincoln was well advised of abolition activities. As we have seen, the whole subject was brought before him in startling fashion at the second session of the Legislature of Illinois to be attended by him, and thereafter it was thoroughly debated at least twice while he was a member of the General Assembly of his State.

Although keeping his membership in the Whig Party, Herndon was an Abolitionist at heart and said so; and no man or woman in the whole country was a more passionate votary of Theodore Parker. He bought all the abolition literature on which he could lay his hands, and he and Lincoln read and discussed it together. This fact is of the greatest possible moment in the development of Lincoln's opinions, and of the origin of memorable language spoken by him.[2]

[1] Before 1840 the terms abolition and anti-slavery were not clearly defined; but after 1840 an Abolitionist was one who sought anti-slavery ends outside of established parties, and after 1848 the name applied only to followers of William Lloyd Garrison or Gerrit Smith.

[2] 'I was in correspondence with Sumner, Greeley, Phillips, and Garrison, and was thus thoroughly imbued with all the rancor drawn from such strong anti-slavery sources. . . . Every time a good speech on the great issue was made I sent for it . . . of Giddings, Phillips . . . and one whom I considered grander than all the others — Theodore Parker. . . .

'I purchased all the leading histories of the slavery movement, and other works which treated on that subject,' and Lincoln and Herndon read and discussed them together. Herndon, II, 363.

'I take Garrison's *Liberator* and he [Lincoln] takes the *National Era* and the *Western Citizen*.' Herndon's statement to Zebina Eastman, editor of the *Western Citizen* (Chicago), organ of the Liberty Party west of the Ohio, in Blanchard's *History of Illinois*, as quoted in *Lincoln and Herndon:* Joseph Fort Newton, 62 *n.*

The first anti-slavery society in Illinois was that of Putnam County, formed in 1835,

From the time of the Nat Turner atrocities, the abolition assault grew in violence; and, as the years passed, it raged with ever increasing fury. Abolition tracts, pamphlets, speeches, and appeals poured from the presses in swelling streams. 'On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation,' said Garrison in the first number of the *Liberator*. In the immense volume of abolition literature the principal variation was in the violence of the language used. Only extravagant terms can give an idea of its vituperation. So was produced that counterpart of the Northern Abolitionist, the Southern 'fire-eater,' of whom, in due course, we shall hear much. When the abolition crusade had progressed for some years, Clay, in the Senate, bitterly denounced its writings and tactics. These 'incendiaries' wished to 'array one portion against another portion of the Union;' their prints and pamphlets were the faggots of hatred. Such was Clay's opinion in 1839.[1]

Like his great leader, Lincoln deplored the violence of the agitation, and on no single point did he agree with abolition methods or principles. Those who wonder at his silence on the question for long years, may find the explanation in the character of the abolition assault. Yet he did not denounce it, and, as we shall see, the radical Herndon made shift to capture the abolition vote for his partner and idol.

In general, abolition writers and speakers said and wrote substantially the same thing. At first the attack was almost entirely on moral and religious grounds; for many years the economic phase was scarcely noticed by the Abolitionists. It was a sin-hunting age, a period of rigid moral formulas when the absolutist of right and wrong issued decrees with uncompromising intolerance. Abolitionism, said Calhoun in 1837, 'originated

and three years later thirteen reported to the National Anti-Slavery Convention. The number increased in the years following and almost all were in Northern counties of the State.

Four journals devoted to the abolition or anti-slavery cause were established in Illinois before 1848: Lovejoy's *Observer* of Alton (1837); Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation* of Lowell (1838); Eastman's *Genius of Liberty* of Lowell, which in 1842 became the *Western Citizen* of Chicago; and with the Free-Soil Party came the *Tribune* of Chicago (1847). No account is made here of the short-lived papers which started after 1842. *Liberty and the Free Soil Parties in the Northwest:* Theodore Clarke Smith, 320; *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois*, 1814–1879: Franklin W. Scott, lxxv, *n.*

[1] Feb. 7, 1839. *Works*, VIII, 142–3.

in that blind, fanatical zeal which made one man believe that he was responsible for the sins of others; and which, two centuries ago, tied the victim that it could not convert to the stake.' [1]

Slavery was a sin, accursed of God; black and white were brothers and equals,[2] and any man-made law that prevented that equality and brotherhood was a violation of the ordinances of Heaven. Of these divine statutes the Abolitionists devoutly believed that they were the chosen interpreters and guardians.[3]

American institutions, too, were irreconcilable with slavery, they declared. Did not the Declaration of Independence assert the self-evident truth that all men are created equal? The whole system of slavery produced an oligarchy, a ruling caste, destructive of American principles; and this charge was with some at the North more potent than the moral indictment.[4] And how did that satanic group, which not only ruled the South but the Nation, maintain itself? Chiefly by the Constitutional provision for counting three-fifths of the slaves in computing the basis of representation in Congress. The Abolitionists were so engrossed in their crusade against slavery as a sin, however, that they did not make of this a major argument; but Northern politicians and those who, without being formally Abolitionists, opposed slavery and disliked the South, used it as the basis of their most effective appeal.

With the strength of a mighty and flaming obsession Abolitionists shouted that all slave-holders were thieves, robbers, man-stealers, enemies of God and the Republic — paupers, but for the toil of slaves on which they lived. 'We must deliver our country from the government of these *Tyrant Paupers.*' [5]

[1] Speech, Dec. 27, 1837. *Works*, III, 152.

[2] *A Protest against Slavery*, 173 Unitarian Ministers, Abolition pamphlet, Boston, 1845, 3. 'Three millions of our Slaves, fellow men and brethren' in slavery.

[3] 'Servants of God most high,
Who on his word rely,' etc.
Anti-Slavery Poems: John Pierpont, 46, Abolition pamphlet, Boston, 1843.

[4] Hundley testified that he found anti-slavery men in the North, not Abolitionists, who were not so much influenced by the sin of bondage, since the Bible sanctioned it, as by the reputed existence of a 'Southern oligarchy' which they hated. Southern writers replied that it was the same 'oligarchy' which flourished at the time of the Revolution, and insisted that it was not exclusive, since any white man could become a member. Hundley, 68–9.

[5] *The Tyrant Paupers:* Emancipation Extra, Abolition pamphlet, 1843.

With knotted scourge the slave-holder drove men and women to heart-breaking and endless toil, charged the Abolitionists. The slaves were underfed, often half-starved, and their shelters were hovels unfit for beasts. So-called punishment was, in reality, unprovoked assaults upon innocent and unoffending persons. Slaves were hunted like wild animals, torn by dogs, flogged to death, stabbed with knives. Their teeth were broken, ears cut off, eyes knocked out, and spiked iron collars were fastened about their necks. Tales of torture, murder, lust so gross, bestial, and revolting that the wantonness of savage cruelty was surpassed, were printed with detailed particulars.[1]

Seemingly these revelations of horror were not sufficiently convincing to the doubtful, for the abolition propagandists were taunted for their want of trustworthy evidence and even denounced by the unbelieving as plain and wilful liars. Dr. Charles G. Parsons of Maine, a lecturer on abolition, spent more than a year in Georgia, and wrote a book purporting to give an account of his experiences. The evils of slavery could not be seen in Northern slave States or in Southern cities and towns, he wrote; slaves were taught to lie about their condition, admitting contentment and happiness which they did not feel; [2] planters and business men wilfully deceived visitors; [3] good men in the South were kept ignorant of the infamies practised all around them.[4]

Parsons reported that he personally saw and heard things as revolting as those described in the most dreadful pages of abolition literature, and that he was credibly informed of practices still more infamous. He alleged that the personal habits of Southern white men were in keeping with their brutality to

[1] *American Slavery as it is: The Testimony of 1000 Witnesses,* Abolition Booklet, issued by the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839.

This compilation contained numerous accounts by those who claimed to be eye-witnesses of ghastly atrocities.

[2] *Inside view of Slavery; or a Tour among the Planters:* Charles G. Parsons, M.D., 18–9, 30–1, Abolition book, Boston, 1855. He believed slavery and intemperance to be the two great evils of the South. Parsons claimed to have relatives and influential friends among the planters.

[3] *Ib.*, 33–6. When Sir Charles Lyell, in Boston, said that he had seen 'little actual suffering' in the South, an Abolitionist told him that he had been deceived. *Second Visit:* Lyell, II, 78.

[4] Parsons, 57–61.

slaves — indolence, gambling, drunkenness, brawling, fighting, murdering; and all of these were the natural accompaniments of slavery. Indeed such statements constituted quite as much an indictment of the Southern people as an attack on slavery.[1]

Slaves were denied education, denied religion, denied everything that could enlighten and uplift them, the Abolitionists declared. Worse still! 'We have men sold to build churches, women sold to support the gospel, and babes sold to purchase Bibles for the poor heathen,' wrote Frederick Douglass.[2] Families were torn asunder — husband, wife, children, separated forever upon the auction block, in the slave pen.[3] This was the basest infamy but one, which the slave system had produced. That ultimate depth of vileness was miscegenation, into which planters, their sons, overseers, slave-holders, slave-dealers, and white men in general, forced negro and mulatto girls and women.[4]

This was the principal count of the abolition indictment; and it was dwelt upon with repetitious and terrible insistence.[5] Impartial investigators reported instances sustaining the truth of the charge.[6] Others grossly exaggerated. 'The South,' exclaimed

[1] Parsons, 46–51, 136–49, 152–290.

[2] Douglass's Narrative as quoted in *Slavery and the Slaveholder's Religion:* Samuel Brooke, Abolition pamphlet, 1846, 69.

[3] *The Slave Auction:* Dr. John Theophilus Kramer, Abolition pamphlet, Boston, 1859. For an instance happening without the intervention of the auction, see Kemble, 123–31.

[4] *Anti-Slavery Catechism:* Lydia Maria Child, 15. All Abolition literature and the records of travellers in the South laid emphasis upon this practice.

[5] Miss Martineau was among the first to give wide currency to this repellent topic. 'The licentiousness of the South takes the women of colour for its victims.' *Retrospect,* I, 234. William Gilmore Simms wrote a review of her book and on her chapter dealing with miscegenation said: 'It is painful, because it is full of truth. . . . The truth — though it is not all truth — is quite enough to sustain her and it.' *Pro-Slavery Argument,* 228–9. The charges angered the South, and another reviewer of Miss Martineau's volumes denounced her general attack upon slavery as the 'tirade' of an 'amalgamationist of the foulest kind.' *Southern Literary Messenger,* IV, 342.

'This is a favorite theme with the abolitionists, male and female. Folios have been written about it,' and Senator Hammond of South Carolina adds: 'I wish the topic could be avoided.' James Henry Hammond in *Pro-Slavery Argument,* 117–8.

In 1868 Stephens described Hammond as 'one of the most intellectual men this country has ever produced.' *Constitutional View of the War between the States:* Alexander H. Stephens, II, 83. He was an ardent upholder of slavery, and the author of some of the strongest arguments in support of it. The many citations of Senator Hammond, hereafter made, are from *Pro-Slavery Argument.*

[6] Thus Olmsted, writing of New Orleans, testified that in 1853, a planter told him that

Wendell Phillips, 'is one great brothel, where half a million of women are flogged to prostitution.' [1] That section, said Mrs. Child, was for negro slavery because of the love of 'unbridled licentiousness and despotic control.' [2] The greed of the slaveholder was equal to his lust; he sold his own children. 'The blood of orators, statesmen, generals, and even presidents, flows in the veins of thousands who are bought and sold like mules and horses.' [3] So debasing was the system that the poor whites sometimes sold their children to slave-traders.[4]

Slave women were 'doomed to a life of universal prostitution and concubinage,' wrote Stephen S. Foster, and added that, because the General Conference of the Methodist Church had refused to condemn slavery in 1836 and 1840, 'every intelligent communicant' in that denomination was worse than 'the common prostitute, the pickpocket, or the assassin.' Since there were fifty thousand female members of the Methodist Church who, according to Foster, were forced to lead immoral lives, that Church was 'more corrupt than any house of ill-fame in the city of New York.' The sole reason Methodist preachers in the South were for slavery was, he charged, that they could get concubines for themselves. Foster claimed to speak only in love and kindness.[5]

Other pamphleteers were even more radical. For an extreme example, the Rev. George Bourne published tales of Southern

miscegenation was so prevalent that he intended to leave the South — 'there is not a likely-looking black girl in this State, that is not the paramour of a white man;' another, that he had his boys educated in the North because they could not be brought up at home 'in decency.'

A Mrs. Douglas, convicted of teaching slaves to read, wrote Olmsted from her jail, that amalgamation was 'one great evil hanging over the Southern Slave States. . . . This, and this only, causes the vast extent of ignorance, degradation and crime, that lies like a black cloud over the whole South. . . . It pervades the entire society.' *Slave States:* Olmsted, 601–2.

Buckingham, II, 213–4, gives an instance and adds that Southerners denied this practice, but he believed it to be very general and beyond doubt.

[1] *Speeches, Lectures and Addresses:* Wendell Phillips, 108.

[2] Child, 35.

[3] G. M. Weston, quoted in *American Slavery and Colour:* William Chambers, 2–3. English Abolition book, 1857.

[4] *Ib.*, 3. Chambers was a Scotch writer and publisher, an ardent Abolitionist and he wrote on slavery and the South wholly from that point of view.

[5] *The Brotherhood of Thieves:* Stephen S. Foster, Abolition pamphlet, Boston, 1844.

miscegenation which cannot be reproduced at the present time.[1] In general, he asserted, slave girls were reared and sold 'expressly for concubinage and the manufacture of light colored slaves.' Drunken buyers attended girl slave markets and, with foul obscenities, examined prospective purchases. Nothing was beyond the infamy of the slave-holder — the master defiled his own daughters, the son his own sisters and their mother, and men sold their daughters to be mistresses.[2]

Bourne contended that miscegenation with negroes was not confined to Southern men; that slave mothers, in revenge for the ruin of their girls, managed similar affairs between young slaves and the daughters of their owners; and he described an instance of it with particularity, yet in such general terms, that it could be applied to any plantation in the South. Southern women were worse than 'female seducers and panderers for debauchees,' because they were 'privy to all the violations which pass around them.' When retribution came, as it was bound to do, 'southern women may be assured that they will have no adequate defenders from the north.' [3]

Southern pulpits were often filled by 'man-stealing, girl-selling, pimping, and slave-manufacturing preachers,' Bourne charged, and the Southern churches under ministers who defended such practices were a 'synagogue of Satan.' It would be better '*to transfer the inmate from the State prison, and the pander from the brothel to the pulpit*,' than to permit such a minister to preach in a Northern church.[4] The abolition assault on Southern clergymen was more virulent than the at-

[1] *Slavery illustrated in its Effects upon Women and Domestic Society:* George Bourne, Abolition pamphlet, 1837. This pamphlet was published anonymously by Isaac Knapp, Boston. Bourne was an Englishman who came to the United States when a young man and had lived in Virginia. He was one of the most aggressive of the Abolitionists.

Garrison said that next to the Bible he was most indebted to a pamphlet of Bourne's, *The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable* (1815). *William Lloyd Garrison:* By his Children, I, 306. The great emancipationist declared of Bourne in the *Liberator:* 'Bourne thunders and lightens.' *Ib.*, 461.

[2] Bourne, 62–4.

Richard Hildreth, the journalist and author, wrote a novel, *The Slave or Memoir of Archy Moore*, in which the woes of the slave daughter of her aristocratic master, a 'brilliantly beautiful girl,' were set forth in shocking and pathetic detail. The first edition of this novel appeared in 1836; sixteen years later it was again published under the title of *The White Slave.*

[3] Bourne, 72–4, 101–2. [4] *Ib.*, 105, 116–7. Italics Bourne's.

tack on any other body of men in the South, and it lighted and fed flames of wrath in the hearts of Southern ministers which decades and generations of time did not extinguish.

When asked if she would not prevent the marriage of a negro to a white, Miss Martineau replied 'that I would never, under any circumstances, try to separate persons who really loved.' [1] She related that women of Baltimore denounced the English novelist, Miss Edgeworth, because in her book, *Belinda*, 'poor Juba [a negro] was married . . . to an English farmer's daughter;' and, continued Miss Martineau, 'a clergyman's lady threw the volume to the opposite corner of the floor when she came to the page.' [2] In 1839 Clay declared in the Senate, that Abolitionists favored amalgamation; and, from that time forward, this was a favorite charge of their opponents. As we shall see, it was constantly hurled at Lincoln who repelled it with ardor, for he was as much opposed to amalgamation as he was to abolitionism.

No wonder slaves ran away! They ought to run away, said the Abolitionists; ought, indeed, to assert by force in the South itself their God-given right of liberty! 'It is the right and duty of the slaves to gain and defend their freedom; it is the right and duty of the North to incite and help them to freedom.' [3] Chambers reported with praise that a single Abolitionist whom he had met, had helped nearly two thousand negroes to leave their masters and go to the free States or Canada.[4] Chevalier wrote that, while he was in Richmond in 1834, '40 or 50 slaves disappeared, and there is no doubt that the fanatics of Philadelphia or New England furnished them the means of flight.' [5]

One of the most effective features of abolition propaganda was the reproduction of advertisements of runaway slaves published in Southern newspapers.[6] 'Go tell these slave-breeders and

[1] *Retrospect:* Martineau, I, 139–40. Miss Martineau further said that the case put by her questioner was 'one not likely to happen as I believed the blacks were no more disposed to marry the whites than the whites to marry the blacks.' For this answer, the Philadelphia woman promptly replied: 'You are an amalgamationist.'

[2] *Retrospect:* Martineau, I, 141.

[3] Henry C. Wright to Garrison in the 'Natick Resolutions,' Abolition pamphlet.

[4] Chambers, 118. [5] Chevalier, 155.

[6] *American Slavery as it is,* 62–3. These advertisements were made note of by all travellers through the South. Dickens printed some in his *American Notes.*

slave drivers that, when the slaves shall bid defiance to their enslavers, and insurrections, massacre, murder, rape and rapine cover the South, and the cries of the white victims of the slaves' vengeance arise for mercy, the slaves and their friends, the non-slave-holding whites, are only practising on their teachers the lessons they so faithfully and diligently taught them.' [1] The maledictions upon their former masters by fugitive slaves were printed and scattered broadcast by anti-slavery propagandists. 'Blood, death, and liberty will be required at their hands,' cried John H. Hill, an escaped bondman.[2] Frederick Douglass's paper urged slave insurrections.[3]

What if Congress had passed and Washington signed a law for the capture of fugitive slaves? To observe such a law was itself a crime, an insult to the Deity. In a Thanksgiving Day sermon at Boston in 1850 Theodore Parker urged his congregation to disobey any law that was opposed to your conscience. 'We know that we ought not to keep a wicked law, and that it must not be kept when the law of God forbids.' [4] Suppose fugitive slave legislation was authorized and enjoined by the Constitution! Wendell Phillips cried. That very fact branded the Nation's fundamental law as 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.' [5] In 1837 the National Anti-Slavery Conven-

[1] *No Rights, No Duties:* Henry C. Wright, Abolition pamphlet, 28–9. The Abolitionists found in slave insurrections unanswerable arguments for immediate emancipation. See how well that policy had worked in South and Central American countries!

On the other hand, look at the results of the revolts where negroes were kept in slavery: New York, 1741, where, for such a revolt, thirteen blacks were burned alive, eighteen hung, and eighty transported; Richmond, 1800, where the black insurgent leader, Gabriel and his followers were hung; Charleston, 1822, where an insurrectionary plot was discovered and thirty-five executed, thirty-seven banished and one hundred and thirty-one imprisoned; Newbern, 1826, where forty slaves were driven into a swamp and all killed; the Nat Turner Insurrection with its bloody results, etc. Coffin, 15, 24–31.

[2] *Uncle Tom's Cabin Reviewed:* William Still, Abolition pamphlet, 192–3.

[3] 'Shall the millions for ever submit to robbery, to murder, to ignorance, and every unnamed evil which an irresponsible tyranny can devise, because the overthrow of that tyranny would be productive of horrors? We say not. The recoil, when it comes, will be in exact proportion to the wrongs inflicted; terrible as it will be, we accept and hope for it.' Frederick Douglass as quoted in foot-note to Chambers, 174. Douglass wrote this in 1856; but from the beginning of the abolition assault the same language was used by Abolitionists and negro lecturers in their employ.

[4] *Speeches, Addresses and Occasional Sermons:* Theodore Parker, II, 298–303.

[5] *The Constitution, a Pro-Slavery Compact* (ed. by Phillips), Abolition pamphlet, ix.

tion adopted resolutions that '*all those laws . . . admitting the right of slavery*, are, before God, NULL AND VOID.' [1]

And the Union! The precious Union! Too long had that formula been used to perpetuate and extend the infamy. Away with it! The American Anti-Slavery Society adopted 'No Union with slave-holders,' as its official motto.[2] 'Accursed be the American Union!' rang *Liberty Bell*, an abolition annual, in 1845. 'Accursed be it as the most . . . atrocious compromise ever made to gratify power and selfishness!' — accursed, 'as a libel on Democracy! accursed as stained with human blood!' [3] In every issue of the *Liberator*, Garrison printed conspicuously under the caption 'The American Union' half a column of quotations from the Bible against association with evil, and in large capitals: 'YOUR COVENANT WITH DEATH SHALL BE ANNULLED AND YOUR AGREEMENT WITH HELL SHALL NOT STAND.' Clay declared in the Senate in 1839, that to Abolitionists property, law, 'civil war, a dissolution of the Union' were nothing.[4]

And who, asked the Abolitionists, were these negro slaves? Not only were they, in the eye of God, spiritual kinsmen of their white oppressors; but, if given a chance, the negro was their equal physically, intellectually, and morally. 'The negro race

[1] Declaration American Anti-Slavery Convention, 1835, as quoted in *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists*, 185. Southern book, Phila., 1836.

[2] '*We will give the union for the abolition of slavery, if nothing else will gain it; but if we cannot gain it at all, then the South is welcome to a dissolution — the sooner the better.*' From abolition manifesto as quoted in Paulding, 300–1 (1836).

[3] *Liberty Bell*, 1845, Boston. John Pierpont wrote a long poem for *Liberty Bell* in 1842, of which typical lines are:

'Let the Liberty Bell ring out — ring out!
And let freemen reply, with thundering shout,
That the gory scourges and clanking chains,
That blast the beauty of Southern plains,
Shall be stamped in the dust;
And that thrice-gorged Lust,
That gloats on his helpless bond-maid's bust,
Ere long shall see
That slave set free,
And joining in Liberty's Jubilee.
That Jubilee song!'

Anti-Slavery Poems: John Pierpont, 1843, 43.

[4] *Works*, VIII, 142.

is entitled to a place close by the side of the Saxon; . . . blue-eyed Saxon, proud of your race,' find among your statesmen, diplomats, and soldiers the equal of Toussaint l'Ouverture, 'the inspired black of St. Domingo,' Wendell Phillips challenged, amid the cheers of his abolition audience.[1] In his book of Southern horrors, Parsons related the story told him by a slave, of another slave named Dread, whose head was as splendid as that of Webster and as full of intellect, and whose character was lofty and stainless; yet he was scourged for his obedience and murdered for his virtues.[2]

The most kindly and moderate Abolitionists laid every defect of the slaves, whether individual or general, to the debasing influence of bondage. Falsehood, lust, crime, inferiority, indifference to family ties and separations, all were caused by slavery. Even the mirth, jollity, and happiness of slaves existed only as a cover to despair.[3] Freedom, equal rights, equal treatment would produce in the negro character and intellect equal to those of white people. Such was the abolition philosophy and faith.

Speeches and private talks by abolition lecturers throughout the North were even more unrestrained than abolition literature, and not a country town, village, or hamlet escaped visits and appeals by these propagandists of freedom and equality. Southern character was reviled, and the fiery enthusiast of emancipation counted that day lost in which hatred of slavery and the South was not kindled by his terrible revelations and burning words.

The Southern people, at first, showed wrath and alarm. Slave insurrection and servile war, all the terrors that went with aroused and inflamed savage passions, would be the outcome and were the purpose of the 'insane' Abolitionists, they asserted. Repressive and oppressive slave laws were enacted

[1] *Speeches, Lectures and Addresses*, 468–94. This lecture was an argument to prove the natural equality of the negro with the white. 'I am about to compare and weigh races . . . to convince you that the negro blood, instead of standing at the bottom of the list, is entitled . . . to a place as near ours, as any other blood known in history.' *Ib.*, 468–9.

[2] Parsons, 224–31. This slave was the subject of a novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe entitled *Dred: A Tale of the Dismal Swamp*, 1856. It was republished in 1866 as *Nina Gordon*.

[3] 'Having no future to live for, they make the present as merry as possible.' Mackay, II, 132.

throughout the South,[1] and Southern States appealed to Northern States to suppress abolition 'incendiarism.' As we have seen, several of these memorials and petitions came before Lincoln and were studied by him when he was a member of the Legislature of Illinois.[2]

But soon the writers, scholars, and public men of the South began to answer the abolition charges. Nor were they alone in their defence of Southern society and slavery. Northern writers of repute, Bishops and preachers of Northern churches, professors and presidents of Northern colleges, joined those of the South in reply; and many of these Northern men continued to protest, argue, and plead until after armies had taken the field.

Among the first and most eminent of these Northern defenders of the Southern people and of slavery was James Kirke Paulding of New York, who wrote, in 1836, an able statement of the Southern cause. Paulding flew to the support of the South, he said, because everything that had been published in the North had been 'on one side;' and because 'regard to the honour of our country; justice to a great body of as upright, honourable, and humane citizens as any nation can boast; respect to the laws of the land, and reverence for the constitution, seem to demand that the reverse of the picture should be seen.'[3]

In the imposing array of Southern pamphlets, books, and addresses that thus came to be published, the arguments and data are substantially the same. Lincoln read some of these Southern pronouncements, for Mrs. Lincoln was a subscriber to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, and many essays and papers by important Southern men appeared in that magazine.

Lincoln and Herndon took the *Charleston Mercury* and the

[1] Because of 'insubordination' among the slaves, 'traceable . . . to abolition movements . . . the legislative authority has found it expedient to infuse fresh vigor into the police, and laws which regulate the conduct of slaves.' Clay in Senate speech, Feb. 7, 1839. *Works*, VIII, 154.

[2] Vol. I, p. 247, *supra*. *William Lloyd Garrison*, I, 483, *et seq.*

[3] *Slavery in the United States:* James Kirke Paulding, 1836, 8. Paulding was one of the notable literary men of his time, prolific in fiction, satire, and poetry, and some of his novels were remarkably successful.

In 1837, a year after the publication of his defence of the South, Paulding became Secretary of the Navy in Van Buren's cabinet. He was one of the party that Lincoln helped entertain when Van Buren visited Illinois in 1840. See Vol. II, p. 35, *supra*.

Richmond Enquirer, two of the ablest and most extreme of Southern journals.[1] Herndon bought the *Sociology of the South* by George Fitzhugh, in which the arguments for bondage were presented. This book was infinitely impolitic, but as sincere as the outgivings of the Abolitionists. Fitzhugh advanced the idea that slavery was the best estate for labor and that labor itself should be owned by capital, a thesis from which Lincoln revolted in anger and disgust.[2]

Before his marriage Lincoln had been in intimate personal contact with slavery for several weeks while on his visit to Speed. During his seven years in the Legislature the whole question had been debated extensively two or three times. Lincoln's wife had been brought up among slaves and, to say the least, was not antagonistic to the institution; his father-in-law was a slaveholder and Mrs. Lincoln's share of her father's estate was partly from the proceeds of the sale of slaves. Lincoln was in Kentucky several times after his marriage and saw the condition, treatment, and life of the negro bondmen in that State.

He also witnessed the same things in Washington when he was in Congress, and, unless he went about the capital blindfolded, he saw gangs of slaves plodding in chains along the street. At the very time when Southern resentment of abolition words and deeds was reaching the danger point, Lincoln's closest associates were Stephens, Toombs, and other Southern members of the House; and heated debates on the subject sprang up in the midst of controversy over the Mexican War. In conversation on the streets, at boarding-houses and hotels, in the ante-rooms of Congress, wherever men and women met, discussion of the abolition assault and the Southern reply all but drowned the talk of politicians about conventions, nominations, patronage, and party advantage. The Southern warning, in the form of a statement of Southern grievances, came like the boom of can-

[1] Herndon, II, 363.

[2] Herndon to Weik. Oct. 28, 1885. Weik MSS.

George Fitzhugh was a successful lawyer of Virginia and a 'self-made' man, who owned no slaves; and, for that reason his book, published in 1854, is important, though it does not appear that his view of servitude, white or black, was held by any large number in the South.

Curiously enough, he was related by marriage to Gerrit Smith, one of the extreme Abolitionists, and the two men were personal friends.

non, just as Lincoln's term was drawing to a close. Back in Springfield the relatives of his wife and most of his friends held strongly to the Southern view of slavery, and public opinion in that town was decidedly of the same complexion as long as Lincoln lived there.

Thus, throughout the whole of this deadly conflict of opinion, Lincoln was informed of every phase of it. Few Northern men better understood Southern thought and feeling than did he, nor did any Northern man who was opposed to slavery on principle have a more comprehending sympathy with the Southern people in their racial situation. In short, the summary of the Southern case to which we are now to listen is indispensable to the interpretation of Lincoln's words and deeds — his speeches, his letters, his silences, his patience and mildness, his seeming hesitations, his immortal inaugural, his plans for reconstruction which so infuriated the extremists of his party.

Before his nomination for the Presidency, Lincoln was so inconspicuous that his opinions were not known in the South.

As to negro slavery, wrote its defenders, it formerly had been considered, in a vague and thoughtless fashion, to have been wrong, and most Southern men had looked forward, in an indefinite way, to its gradual extinction.[1] Thus had developed a slow amelioration of slave conditions.[2] But the abolition assault,

[1] 'Before the commencement of the abolition agitation here [South Carolina], it was the common sentiment that it was desirable to get rid of Slavery. Many thought it our duty to do so.' Hammond, 169.

'Had the abolitionists let us alone we should have been guilty, I verily believe, of political and social suicide, by emancipating the African race, a measure fatal to them, to ourselves, and to the best interests of this Confederacy [United States] and of the whole world.' Joseph Henry Lumpkin to Howell Cobb, Jan. 21, 1848. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 94–5. Lumpkin was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, 1845–67.

[2] 'Prior to the agitation of this subject of abolition, there was a progressive melioration in the condition of slaves throughout all the slave States.' Clay, VIII, 154 (1839).

'Negro slavery would be changed immediately to some form of peonage . . . if the slaves were sufficiently intelligent and provident to manage a farm. No one would have the labor and trouble of management, if his negroes would pay in hires and rents one-half of what free tenants pay in Europe. . . . But for the assaults of the abolitionists, much would have been done ere this to regulate and improve Southern slavery.' Fitzhugh, 86 (1854).

'Can any one be insensible of the increasing disposition of Virginia, Maryland, and some other states, to throw off their colored population?' Letter in the *Georgia Journal*, Dec. 4, 1821, in *Doc. Hist. Am. Indust. Socy.*, Phillips, II, 69.

with its attendant menace, had compelled Southern thinkers to examine the problem, they said, and this investigation had forced a sounder and a definitive view.[1]

Fact and reason, history and circumstance, biology and religion, they claimed, all demonstrated that negro slavery was morally right, socially essential, economically sound. Nay more! 'We see it now in its true light and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world,' Calhoun stated in the Senate in 1837.[2] The Southerners declared that Northern people were ignorant of Southern conditions, and formed opinions from false statements and grotesque stories peddled about by sensation mongers and fanatics.

The South had inherited slavery, they said; it had existed as a part of Southern economic and social life for more than two hundred years. Their forbears had objected to it at first, but the British government had been deaf to their protests and, from motives of profit, had forced negro slaves upon the colonies.[3] Slavery was a 'bantling laid at our door by its mother, England.'[4] Thus, at the very beginning, the South had been inflicted with the 'thick-lipped African, fresh from the jungles of Congo and still reeking with the bloody stains of cannibalism.'[5] And who had brought most of the blacks? The ship-owners of New England.[6] Many a fortune of that section was due to the slave trade, and some of this wealth was now being used by Abolitionists.[7] When the Constitution was being formed,

[1] 'The violent assaults of those fiends have compelled us in self defence to investigate this momentous subject in all of its bearings, and the result has been a firm and settled conviction that duty to the slave as well as the master forbids that the relation should be disturbed.' Lumpkin to Cobb, Jan. 21, 1848, *supra.*

[2] Calhoun, III, 180. '*Servitude* is the condition of civilization.' 'Memoir on Slavery:' William Harper in *Pro-Slavery Argument,* 27. This author was the son of a Methodist missionary sent to Antigua by John Wesley. He graduated from the College of South Carolina at eighteen, was elected Chancellor of Missouri at twenty-nine and a member of the Constitutional Convention of that State at thirty, appointed Senator from South Carolina at thirty-five, elected Chancellor of that State at thirty-nine, and Justice of the Court of Appeals at forty.

[3] Paulding, 125–37; 'Plantation Records:' Ulrich B. Phillips, *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.,* 1911, I, 29.

[4] Paulding, 125. [5] Hundley, 10.

[6] 'Slavery in the Southern States:' *Southern Literary Messenger,* IX, 736–44 (1843).

[7] *Southern Institutes:* George S. Sawyer, 205–6; *Southern Literary Messenger,* XI, 513–28 (1845).

5168

LOUISE FOLSOM MEMORIAL LIBRARY
Plymouth Congregational Church, U.C.C.
301 West Berry
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

Northern shipping interests had secured the continuance of that traffic for twenty years.[1]

Did not every Northern State have negro slavery at the time of the Revolution? Of course they had done away with it — but when and why? At the point of time when, because of soil, climate, manufacturing, and other economic causes, slave labor had become unprofitable; and not a moment before.[2] Moreover most Northern slave-holders had thriftily taken their negro property South and sold it before the emancipation laws went into effect, Southern spokesmen asserted; the prudent Northern legislators had given their slave-owning constituents plenty of time for such foresighted transactions.[3]

Slavery had existed since before the dawn of history, said advocates of the Southern cause; negroes always had been slaves. The most ancient monuments and sculptures showed them only in that relation. Contact with Egyptian, Carthaginian, Saracen, and Roman civilizations had not changed the negro's status. During five thousand years he had produced no art, no literature, no science, nothing above the immediate animal wants of crudest savagery.[4] These were startling facts for which there must be a profound reason.

That cause was plain, indeed conspicuous. The negro was inferior; his quality was 'stamped upon him by the hand of God himself.' Look at the fundamental differences, physical, moral,

[1] 'They were actively, extensively and quite profitably engaged in the slave trade, and by their influence was the abolition of that traffic postponed for twenty years.' *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIII, 431, July, 1847.

The fact, however, was that the South gained the continuance of the slave trade in exchange for a navigation act desired by the North. 'The Southern States would not have entered into the Union of America, without the temporary permission of that [slave] trade.' Madison, in the Virginia Convention for ratifying the Constitution.

[2] *Southern Literary Messenger*, XI, 513–28 (1845); *Ten Letters on the Subject of Slavery:* Nathan L. Rice (1855), 13. Rice was a prominent Presbyterian clergyman, and, in 1854, was moderator of the General Assembly of that Church. Foreign anti-slavery writers also said that emancipation in the North was because of the unprofitableness of slavery. Mackay, II, 137; *The Americans*, etc.: Francis J. Grund, 369 (1837).

[3] Stephens, II, 102.

[4] Paulding, 41, 70–1, 229–47; Sawyer, 178–83; Hundley, 302–28. On the negro in Africa, all defenders of slavery dwelt upon his debasement and his inability to improve his condition, and some cited the accounts of travellers through that continent, such as Mungo Park, Lander, Livingstone, Richardson and Barth.

and intellectual, between him and the Caucasian.[1] On no one point did the South lay greater stress, and its opinion was that of Northern defenders of slavery. 'There exist physical incongruities which cannot be permanently reconciled,' declared Paulding in 1836,[2] an opinion which Lincoln often repeated as his own. Twenty-five years later Dr. William H. Holcombe of Virginia wrote: 'The negro is not a white man with a black skin, but of a different species, . . . the hopeless physical and mental inferior' of the white, and 'organically constituted to be an agricultural laborer in tropical climates — a strong animal machine.' [3]

In short, the advocates of slavery asserted that by nature the negro was peculiarly suited to bondage and was happier in this situation than other laborers were anywhere in the world. 'Every other form of government than that of slavery has signally failed in the case of the negro,' wrote Fitzhugh; 'he is an enemy to himself and an intolerable pest and nuisance to society, whenever among the whites he is free.' [4] Liberty meant nothing to him, Southern champions declared, except the luxury of idleness and a chance to revert to his former state.[5] Behold

[1] 'It is my purpose to demonstrate that, although the negro may deviate farther than the European from an artistic ideal, he does not cease to be human; that with this deviation *there is a manifest degradation, which approximates the negro, both corporally and mentally, to inferior animals.*' Hermann Burmeister, professor of zoölogy in the University of Halle. His essay, *The Black Man*, was republished by the *New York Evening Post* in 1853.

'Differences in the Intellectual Character of the Several . . . Races:' Harvey Lindsly, *Southern Literary Messenger*, v, 616–20 (1839); and see especially *The Laws of Race, as connected with Slavery:* [Sidney G. Fisher], Philadelphia, 1860, Pro-slavery pamphlet. Fisher's essay was the ablest argument made on scientific grounds against abolition. His thesis was that all human questions are, basically, those of race.

[2] Paulding, 65, 271, 279–80; Clay, VIII, 155.

[3] 'Characteristics and Capabilities of the Negro Race:' William H. Holcombe, M.D., in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXXIII, 401–10 (1861).

Collateral Proof of Slavery . . . as founded on Organic Law, etc.: Marvin T. Wheat, 133–8 (quoting Agassiz and Nott), 144–62 (Caldwell and S. A. Cartwright), 191–9; *Industrial Resources of the Southern States:* J. D. B. DeBow, Professor of Political Economy, University of Louisiana, II, 315–30, quoting Dr. Cartwright of New Orleans.

Sawyer, 185–200; Paulding, 78–103; Fitzhugh, 81–95; *Speech before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, New York, 1856, Frederick A. Ross, 37 *et seq.*; Grund, 356. Indeed all supporters of slavery, without exception, put marked emphasis on negro inferiority.

[4] Fitzhugh, 282; Hammond, 133.

[5] Ingraham, II, 123. Fanny Kemble notes that their laziness seemed to her 'the ne-

5168
LOUISE FOLSOM MEMORIAL LIBRARY
Plymouth Cong. National Church
Fort Wayne, Indiana

the negro in Santo Domingo.[1] Contrast the plight of Jamaica where the slaves had been freed at the expense of the English people who had never seen them. "Jamaica promises soon to become as pestiferous a sink of vice and corruption as the most libertine enthusiast can desire."[2]

If "three or four millions of African negro slaves had been dispersed over England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland," they would not have been freed and permitted to remain in the United Kingdom, said Clay in the Senate in 1850. British sentiment for the blacks was of the long-range variety — several thousand miles distant and across the ocean.[3] "An importation of 10,000 real negroes into this country [England] would very soon alter the national feelings," wrote Mitchell as late as 1862.[4] Would British Abolitionists have clamored for emancipation at home as they had done for the manumission of slaves in Jamaica, if several million blacks had been "mixed with the population of England"? Grund asked in 1837.[5]

Haiti and Jamaica showed the results of abolition on the negro. Under control, direction, and care of white masters, he became mild, useful, and even industrious, though in a sluggish fashion.[6] In such a relation he was light-hearted, faithful, devoted. See how loyal to their masters the slaves had been during both our wars with Great Britain![7] Yet all this could be changed by working on the passions of the negro, inflaming his childish mind, arousing his latent savagery.[8] And just that was what the "demented" Abolitionists were doing; they would let the negro revert to type and "again wallow in the mire of barbarism and bestiousness."[9]

ensuing result of their primary wants being supplied, and all progress ceased thereafter." 507.

[1] Paulding, 97 & Pitkin, 58. For a description of the negro in Jamaica immediately after emancipation, see A Twelve-Months' Residence in the West Indies, R. R. Madden, M.D., 48-110, Philadelphia, 1835. Before Green, see 181 [illegible].

The Southern charge that emancipation had failed in Jamaica was sharply denied by anti-slavery men. See an Address on ... Emancipation in the West Indies, William E. Channing [1842].

[2] Clay, viii, 146-8.

[3] The Negro in the United States, D. W. Mitchell, 289 [1862].

[4] Grund, 180. [5] C. S. Phillips in Am. Hist. Rev., xxx, 741.

[6] Simms, 248-9. [7] Dew, 468; Paulding, 81.

[8] "Africa in America," in Southern Literary Messenger, xxx, 1-14, 1860.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

Harper.[1] Southern champions insisted that usually slaves were well treated; interest alone compelled leniency and kindness, because profitable results from slave labor could be obtained in no other way.[2] The work of the plantation overseer was a profession, and a reputation for tact, kindness, patience, decision, and firmness — efficiency, in short — was vital to his success.[3] From impulse of humanity as well as from motives of prudence, the slaves were well-fed, well-clad, well-housed, and, when ill, cared for by physicians in the neighborhood, usually the same, indeed, who attended the planter's own family.[4] Dentists were employed to care for the teeth of plantation negroes.[5] The slave-owner or his wife often gave medicine to ailing negroes and tended them in sickness.[6] Miss Martineau recorded that a

[1] Harper, 65; *White, Red, Black;* Francis and Theresa Pulszky, II, 54–5. Francis Pulszky and his wife accompanied Thaddeus Kossuth on his tour of the United States in 1851–52. They were earnestly opposed to slavery, but their statements of things seen and heard in the United States are accurate and unprejudiced.

[2] 'The first law of slavery is that of kindness from the master to the slave.' *DeBow's Review,* XV, 257–77 (1853); Harper, 30; Pulszky, II, 105.

'If a man does not provide well for his slaves, it soon becomes known, he gets the name of a "nigger killer" and loses the respect of the community.' *Slave States:* Olmsted, 108 (1853).

[3] Sawyer, 213. Sawyer said that many prominent men began life as overseers, and he compared these plantation managers to the superintendents in Northern factories.

In *Slave States:* Olmsted distinguishes between the overseer, a white man required by law to be present among every body of slaves, and the slave 'drivers,' negroes, who made the slaves do their work well. 436–8. A driver's usual duty was to 'lay off tasks and use the whip.' A Virginian told Olmsted that overseers 'are the curse of this country, sir; the worst men in the community.' *Ib.,* 45.

[4] Simms, 215–6; Fitzhugh, 246; *Slave States:* Olmsted, 438–9; Phillips in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXX, 742–3, quoting affidavits of planters.

[5] Dental surgeon in *New York Day Book,* reprinted in *DeBow,* XXII, 631–3. This writer testified that he was paid $75 for a single visit, and that his services included cleansing, filling, putting in single teeth, partial sets, etc.

[6] Sawyer, 226–8; Ingraham, II, 122–4. On shamming illness see *Slave States:* Olmsted, 187–90; Ingraham, II, 122–3.

Much of the incomes of the physicians of Natchez in 1834 were from plantation practice. Large plantations had hospitals for slaves and some planters kept resident physicians on their estates. *Ib.,* II, 121.

Sir Charles Lyell testifies: 'We visited the hospital at Hopeton [plantation] which consists of three separate wards, all perfectly clean and well ventilated. One is for men, another for women, and a third for lying-in women. The latter are always allowed a month's rest after their confinement.' *Second Visit:* Lyell, I, 264. Fanny Kemble gives a different account for the same neighborhood:

'So miserable a place for the purpose to which it is dedicated I could not have imagined on a property belonging to Christian owners. The floor (which was not boarded, but merely the damp hard earth itself,) was strewn with wretched women,

wealthy planter nursed his negroes stricken with cholera and bathed them with his own hands.[1]

Moreover care was taken that slaves should not be overworked [2] — this, too, was the result of self-interest as well as humanity, and public opinion also enforced moderation.[3] If the indolent and unruly were chastised, the industrious and provident were actually paid for extra work. 'You justly observe that if punishment is in one hand, reward should be in the other,' wrote the overseer of a big plantation to his employer.[4] The fact was, the defenders of slavery stated, the slaves of a

who, but for their moans of pain and uneasy restless motions, might very well have each been taken for a mere heap of filthy rags; the chimney refusing passage to the smoke from the pine wood fire, it puffed out in clouds through the room, where it circled and hung, only gradually oozing away through the windows, which were so far well adapted to their purpose that there was not a single whole pane of glass in them.' 273. Also, 35, 406.

[1] *Society:* Martineau, II, 74.

[2] Buckingham said in 1839: 'It must be confessed that in no part of the country or in the towns, do the slaves appear to be overworked, or to do, indeed, so much as a white labourer would be expected and indeed made to do, in the same situation of life.' Buckingham, II, 427.

Slaves were not employed in the unhealthy labor of ditching and draining. Not only did such employment interfere with plantation routine, but a slave was worth more than an Irishman or German and his death imposed loss on the planter. *American Negro Slavery:* Phillips, 301.

[3] Detailed instructions for overseers, prepared by enlightened planters for the management of their cotton and rice plantations, are in *Doc. Hist. Am. Indust. Socy.* (ed. Phillips), I, 112–30. See also Paulding, 185–214, for Virginia; *Second Visit:* Lyell, I, 263–5, for Georgia; *Slave States:* Olmsted, 109–12, for Virginia.

These authorities give substantially the same data as to food, clothing, shelter, care, working hours and discipline of field-hands, throughout the South. Roughly, these were: plenty of food, two suits of clothing, two pairs of shoes annually, well-built cabins or brick houses, labor hours, dawn until dark, with from two to four hours' rest at noonday, etc. The slaves were given plots of ground on which they raised vegetables, chickens, etc., and these they ate or sold, etc.

Olmsted wrote that in South Carolina and Georgia the 'tasks' of the slaves were assigned with great exactitude according to the strength and age of the slave and active 'hands' finished their work in a few hours and went to their cabins. *Slave States:* Olmsted, 203–8. See also *ib.*, 434–6.

Fredrika Bremer visiting, in 1850, the plantation of Joel R. Poinsett in Georgetown, S.C., describes the copper vessels in the rice fields containing 'warm, steaming food, which smelled very good. Some of them were filled with brown beans, others with maize pancakes.' She took some and confessed she had 'seldom tasted better or more savory viands.' Bremer, 107.

[4] Phillips in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 742. Prof. Phillips gives examples of inducements offered by overseers and masters to get slaves to do extra work. Among these was a holiday after a crowded harvest and the payment of seventy-five cents each to five slaves for working on that day. *Ib.*, 741 *n.* And see Mackay, II, 128–9, on pay for work beyond allotted task.

good master were his warmest friends, rejoicing in his prosperity and success, grieving at his adversity and failure.[1] They were given as many holidays as white laborers in the North enjoyed, and the slaves had a better time at such seasons, particularly during Christmas week.

'As I write,' Sawyer declared, New Orleans was thronged with gay and happy negroes, buying, selling, and frolicking.[2] Sir Charles Lyell, writing of Georgia in 1845, testified that the slaves indulged in 'a kind of Saturnalia' throughout the whole of the Christmas season;[3] and Olmsted used the same word when picturing slave rejoicing at the same holiday period in Virginia in 1853.[4] Ingraham described the color and jollity of slave parties during Christmas week in Mississippi in 1834.[5] At Richmond, Olmsted was amazed at the number of negroes whom he saw on the streets of a Sunday dressed with 'foppish extravagance . . . in clothing of the most expensive materials and in the latest style of fashion.' On the 'fashionable streets' many more of these richly apparelled blacks were promenading than white people.

And their clothes! 'The finest French cloths, embroidered waistcoats, patent-leather shoes, resplendent brooches, silk hats, kid gloves, and *eau de mille fleurs*.' The 'colored ladies' were so well turned out 'after the latest Parisian mode,' that 'some would have produced a decided sensation in any European drawing-room.' But a white gentleman would gently brush them aside with his cane and white rowdies would shove the black men off the sidewalk, often with a blow; this treatment the negroes would resent loudly and with threats.[6]

Yet on any week day one might see comfortably dressed negroes leading to the slave market by a rope, negro boys and girls, handcuffed and thinly clad, even in coldest weather. Throughout the business week slave auctions were held at

[1] Ingraham said that slaves would throng to the burial of a master and weep bitterly. Ingraham, II, 82. Olmsted saw a slave greet with kisses a young master returning from college. *Slave States:* Olmsted, 135; Chambers, 116; *Society:* Martineau, II, 74.

[2] Sawyer, 217; Ingraham, on slaves in Natchez on Sunday (1834), II, 55.

[3] *Second Visit:* Lyell, I, 263.

[4] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 101–2.

[5] Ingraham, II, 203–4.

[6] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 28–9.

several 'agencies' which everybody, including the slaves for the most part, took as a matter of course.[1]

Listen to the sound of banjo from the quarters at night or of song from the field in day-time. 'A merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe, than the negro slave of the United States,' Professor Dew asserted in 1832.[2] 'I believe our slaves are the happiest three millions of human beings on whom the sun shines,' wrote Governor Hammond in 1845; [3] and nine years earlier Paulding testified that 'of all the varieties of the human race or of human condition that have ever fallen under our observation, the African slave of the South best realizes the idea of happiness . . . for he is . . . the most light-hearted, sportive, dancing, laughing being in the world;' his exuberance of mirth 'could only come from the heart.' [4]

Comparatively few slaves wanted to be 'freed,' Southern writers declared, and Northern investigators, generally, confirmed this statement. The bondmen did not 'pine after freedom' more than the Laplander 'after the green hills and sunny skies of Italy,' Ingraham said.[5] Olmsted found that slaves often refused freedom when it was offered them, because they wished to remain where they would be cared for in old age; and not infrequently freed negroes, who went North, returned to their old homes because of the hard usage they encountered.[6]

Lyell wrote in 1842, that most fugitive slaves were vagabonds who would be imprisoned in free countries under normal conditions, and Ingraham asserted in 1834, that a good negro felt disgraced if a member of the slave family ran away, and slaves

[1] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 30–40.

[2] Dew, 459.

'Arriving often at a late hour at our quarters in the evening, we heard the negroes singing loudly and joyously in chorus after their days work was over.' *Travels:* Lyell, I, 144 (South Carolina, 1842).

[3] Hammond, 133.

[4] Paulding, 168, 176–7. 'The negroes . . . exhibit a light-heartedness which is surprising. . . . Of singing and dancing they are inordinately fond. . . . It is amusing to witness the zest with which on a summer-evening, after the work of the day is over, they will thus enjoy themselves in groups — some singing, some playing on instruments, jabbering, grinning, and frantically gesticulating at the same time, and others dancing with an earnestness which would lead one to the belief that they considered it the main business of life.' Mackay, II, 132–3.

[5] Ingraham, II, 201.

[6] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 130.

themselves were anxious to catch those who were trying to escape.[1] The Southern people were convinced that after 1831, most fugitive slaves were induced to run away by Abolitionists.[2]

Paulding described Southern slavery as 'patriarchal,' and insisted that it was the best mode of life for the negro.[3] The Southern system of bondage was, stated Professor DeBow in his magazine, 'nothing more than a rule of society;'[4] and Stephens defined slavery as 'that legal subordination of an Inferior race to a Superior one which was thought to be the best in the organization of society.'[5] Chevalier wrote to Thiers in 1835: 'Slavery, odious as it is, is one form of social order, and should be preserved where no better form can be substituted for it, as it must disappear when the inferior is ripe for a better state of things.'[6]

Hammond said that, of course, 'slaveholders are no more perfect than other men,' but he insisted that it was false and unjust to charge them with brutality.[7] Much of the cruelty to slaves, it was said, was inflicted by Northern men or foreigners who had acquired plantations in the South.[8] By far the most brutal of slave owners, however, were the free negroes who had made money and bought slaves for themselves.[9] For instance this was done at Norfolk, Virginia, where slaves sold for taxes were purchased by other negro bondmen.[10] For slaves were allowed to earn and keep money by raising and selling poultry and eggs and vegetables, or by working at extra jobs when the allotted task for the day was done; and a prudent, economical slave often made as much for himself as the Northern white

[1] *Travels:* Lyell, I, 150; Ingraham, II, 262–3.

[2] From 1810 to 1840, about 1500 slaves escaped annually, and the average was estimated to be the same in the following ten years. DeBow, *Industrial Resources*, III, 129.

[3] Paulding, 75–7.

[4] *DeBow's Review*, XXII, 75; Fisher, 15.

[5] Stephens, II, 24–5. *The Hireling and the Slave:* W. J. Grayson, Southern pamphlet, 1855, vii.

[6] Chevalier, 364.

[7] Hammond, 125.

[8] Dew, 456; Hammond, 127–8; Ingraham, II, 92–3; and *Travels:* Lyell, I, 147.

[9] 'It is an indisputable fact that when Negroes become owners of slaves they are generally cruel masters.' *Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States:* Charles C. Jones, 137. The number of such was, however, small.

[10] Sawyer, 215.

laborer could earn.[1] This ownership of property by slaves, while not a legal right, was sanctioned by custom.[2]

That the bondmen were well treated was proved, said the Southern advocates, by their fecundity, and supporters of slavery pointed triumphantly to the census.[3] How could the slave population increase so prodigiously if the slaves were starved, beaten, over-worked, ill-clad, poorly sheltered, they asked?[4] Not only were the slaves protected by interest, affection, and life-long contact, but by statutory law which shielded them as an inferior caste, to be sure, but such they were.[5] Let the assailants of the system and the traducers of the Southern people come South and see for themselves. The dreadful stories they printed and told were, asserted Southern spokesmen, most malicious falsehoods related by runaways, by gossips, or even invented outright by their purveyors; while most tales that had a basis of truth were of incidents long past.[6] Thousands of white husbands and fathers in the North and elsewhere were cruel, abusive, unfaithful; but should marriage and family be condemned because of these exceptions? Southern spokesmen

[1] 'With regard to the statement respecting the sums of money earned by industrious negroes, there is no doubt that it is perfectly correct.' Kemble, 408.

Sawyer, 216. Olmsted found that this was true in Virginia in 1853. The allotted daily 'task' was easily performed by slaves who wanted to work and who then, through bonuses, earned for themselves from five to twenty-five dollars a month; and a free negro earned $900 in a year, but spent it all, as the blacks generally did, although, now and then, a thrifty one saved his money and became very well off. *Slave States:* Olmsted, 126–8, 439. See further on the same subject, *ib.*, 203–8, 434–6; also Pulszky, II, 104 (Mississippi, 1852).

[2] Sawyer, 212.

[3] Hammond, 131. The growth of the slave population after the prohibition of slave trade in 1808 was: 1810, 1,191,364; 1820, 1,538,038; 1830, 2,009,043; 1840, 2,487,455; 1850, 3,204,318. *Census.*

[4] 'The increase of your negroes (and they increase like rabbits),' etc. John B. Lamar (manager of plantation) to Howell Cobb, May 16, 1847, Macon, Ga. *Plantation and Frontier:* Ulrich B. Phillips, I, 178–81.

'Their rapid increase attests their easy condition.' Chevalier, 155.

[5] 'Certainly the laws and enacted statutes on which this detestable system is built up are potent enough; the social prejudice that buttresses it is almost more potent still.' Kemble, 323.

[6] Hammond, 127. 'The research and ingenuity of the abolitionists, aided by the invention of runaway slaves — in which faculty, so far as improvizing falsehood goes, the African race is without a rival — have succeeded in shocking the world with a small number of pretended instances of our barbarity. . . . Yet of these, many are false, all highly colored, some occurring half a century, most of them many years ago.'

urged this point with vigor and persistence.[1] All human society was imperfect and so was that of the South; but it had its excellencies, too, and these outweighed its faults.[2]

Southern writers challenged comparison of slave treatment and conditions with those of free laborers in the North, in England, anywhere on earth; and they cited reports of legislative and parliamentary commissions on the actual experiences of the workingman and his family in New York, Massachusetts, and the United Kingdom.[3] Behold the shocking industrial situation in the manufacturing North! cried Southern advocates. Myriads of toilers, although called free men, were slaves in fact, and much worse off than the slaves in the South.[4] Squalor, poverty, want, unceasing and crushing toil were their lot even when employed, and during periods of unemployment they had to make shift as best they could.[5] In sickness and age they were helpless, miserable, desperate.

Thousands of white children in the North worked fourteen hours a day in mills and shops at an age when slave children of the South were 'enjoying all the sweets of luxurious idleness.'[6] Think of children in English factories forced to toil for seventeen hours a day![7] Nor was the English farmer in better case — five or more children, wife, and aged parents existing in a hovel of a room or two, their food potatoes and brown bread, their clothes little better than rags; in case of bad crops, hunger and starvation, perhaps ejectment.

[1] Harper, 31. All slavery advocates made this point, especially Southern and pro-slavery preachers. There was more cruelty to wives and children in New York City in a year 'than in all the South from master to slave in the same time.' Ross, 53. Also Rice, 15.

[2] Hundley, 13–4.

[3] 'Slavery in the Southern States' in *Southern Literary Messenger*, IX, 736–44 (1843). Also 'Treatment of Slaves in the South-west.' *Ib.*, VII, 774–6. *Second Visit:* Lyell, II, 79, quoting William Thomson, the Scotch weaver: 'After witnessing negro slavery in mostly all the slaveholding states — having lived for weeks in cotton plantations . . . I can assert . . . that I have never witnessed one-fifth of the real suffering that I have seen in the manufacturing establishments in Great Britain.' Also see Buckingham, I, 213–5; Pulszky, II, 56–7 (1852).

[4] Harper, 52–6; *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI, 193–205 (1850).

[5] Fitzhugh, 106–7; Paulding, 267–8.

[6] *Ib.*, 106–7 (1836).

[7] R. T. H. in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XI, 463 (1845); also Hammond, 135–9; and Harper, 30–1.

It was not so with negro slaves in the Southern States, insisted slavery advocates. They were fed and cared for from birth to the working period, and from the beginning of old age for the remainder of their lives, all at the owner's expense.[1] They were far happier than laborers in the North, better off than the peasantry of Europe.[2] Never for a moment were Southern slaves terrified by the spectre of a friendless future of want and starvation.[3] And during their years of productive labor, they could not be discharged, as were white laborers in 'free' countries when business was poor. No matter whether the season was good or bad, the market brisk or slow, the slave-holder had to support his negroes the same at all times. That was his interest as well as his duty.[4] Economically, it was the slave-holder's principal burden, for the expense made slave labor more costly than so-called free labor.[5]

If the Abolitionists magnified the moral over the economic phase of slavery, Southern writers treated these elements as of equal importance. That slave labor was more expensive than free labor, was, they said, compensated by the comparative insignificance of a pauper class in the South, the comparative

[1] Paulding, 213; Sawyer, 216; Fitzhugh, 85; Grund, 346–7. All pro-slavery writers made this statement prominent.

[2] *Second Visit:* Lyell, I, 262; Chevalier reported that 'though intellectually and morally degraded,' the slaves were 'less severely tasked, better fed, and better taken care of, than most of the peasants of Europe.' Chevalier, 155 *n.*

And Olmsted wrote from Virginia in 1853: 'I think the slaves generally (no one denies that there are exceptions) have plenty to eat; probably are better fed than the proletarian class of any other part of the world.' *Slave States:* Olmsted, 110.

[3] Hundley, 66–7; Sawyer, 225.

[4] 'Treatment of Slaves in the South-west,' in *Southern Literary Messenger*, VII, 774–5.

[5] Hammond, 121–2; Harper, 26–7, 67; Fitzhugh, 279; *Second Visit:* Lyell, II, 72; Mackay, II, 148; Pulszky, II, 45.

In records of plantation management gathered by Professor Phillips appears startling evidence of the high cost of slave labor. For example, of one hundred and twenty slaves on one plantation in 1845, only forty-five did any work. *Doc. Hist. Am. Indust. Socy.*, I, 148. On the Belmead plantation, Va., there were one hundred and twenty-seven slaves of which 'about one-half probably comprised the working force.' *Ib.*, 208. 'Think of your having nearly ninety hands that work out, only one third paying any profit, while all the rest have to be fed, clothed, etc., just as expensively as if they were at work on good land.' John B. Lamar to Howell Cobb, May 16, 1847. *Ib.*, 178–81.

On an old plantation in Virginia, 1853, out of ninety-six slaves, only thirty-five were workers, the remainder being 'either too young or too old for hard work,' and the effective field force was but twenty-one; but this loss of productive labor was somewhat

freedom from crime.[1] Above all, the high labor costs of the slave-holder were more than returned by the economic and social stability of the South which, the Southerner insisted, the institution of slavery produced. Moreover, the larger part of his property was slave; it amounted to nearly one billion five hundred millions of dollars in 1850 and was rapidly mounting. To destroy that property would ruin him and ruin the South.

Without planters, slaves, and cotton, 'Mississippi would . . . revert to the aboriginal possessors,' Ingraham wrote in 1834; annihilate them and 'every southern state might be bought for a song;' [2] and Professor Dew asserted two years earlier: 'It is, in truth, the slave labor in Virginia which gives value to her soil and her habitations; take away this, and you pull down the Atlas that upholds the whole system; eject from the State the whole slave population, and . . . the Old Dominion will be a "waste howling wilderness."' [3]

Since, as they declared, slavery was morally right and economically essential, the champions of Southern institutions boldly affirmed that breeding of slaves was necessary. Professor Dew proudly asserted in 1832 that the rearing and sale of slaves was one of Virginia's 'greatest sources of profit.' In 1830 about six thousand slaves were sent from that State to Southern markets, he said, and it was from this source that the incomes of thousands of white families were drawn. The reason that negro bondmen in Virginia were inordinately prolific was because greater care was given them and matrimony was encouraged among them. So 'the Virginians can raise cheaper than they can buy;' and it had thus come about that 'Virginia is, in fact, a *negro* raising State for other States; she produces enough for her own supply, and six thousand for sale.' [4]

made up because the slave women were 'uncommonly good breeders.' *Slave States:* Olmsted, 57.

Of one hundred and eighty slaves on a plantation in Louisiana in 1852, one hundred were workers, fifty were children and twenty old. Pulszky, II, 102.

[1] Hammond, 121–2; Pulszky, II, 53. 'In hireling States there are thousands of idlers, trampers, poachers, smugglers, drunkards, and thieves . . . thousands who suffer from want of food and clothing.' Grayson, ix.

[2] Ingraham, II, 91. [3] Dew, 358.

[4] *Ib.*, 359, 369–70. Virginia 'enjoys the unenviable notoriety of being the chief slave-breeding State.' Mackay, II, 145.

About the same time Ingraham wrote that Virginia and Kentucky supplied most of the slaves which he saw arriving in Mississippi; he added that Missouri was beginning to compete in production, and that two hundred thousand dollars' worth would be bought there during 1834 for the Natchez market.[1] Twenty years later (1853) Olmsted estimated the number of slaves exported from the slave-breeding States to the cotton States, at twenty thousand annually; and he saw two freight cars loaded with such live stock.[2]

Was all this profitable increase of slave property to be lost and the remainder of that property besides? And to what end? Would the slaves be better cared for if 'freed' and cast upon their own resources? And what was to be done with the overplus of negro reproduction, if the sale of it was to be prohibited? Every student of economics, insisted Southern writers, knew that the negro slave was '*economically* . . . unfit for freedom,' just as he was '*morally*' unprepared for liberty — the tremendous decline in production in Haiti told the story.[3]

The slave market which so appalled Abolitionists did not in general terrify the negroes who were to be sold. On the contrary, wrote Ingraham of such a place in Mississippi in 1834 which he passed every week for more than a year: 'I have always seen the slaves either dancing to the sound of the violin, played by one of their number' or otherwise amusing themselves when not 'sleeping in the sun.' When a buyer appeared the slaves would strive to be purchased, since 'none but poor nigger

'Slaves are regularly bred in some States, as cattle for the southern market.' Reed and Matheson (1834), II, 249.

Buckingham saw wagons loaded with slaves going to Georgia and Alabama from Virginia, 'where they are extensively bred for this purpose;' and a gang of men, women and children, chained in pairs, driven South on foot. Buckingham, II, 43–4, 552–3.

Ingraham saw one such caravan upon its arrival in Mississippi. The slaves had walked all the way from Virginia; but, while tired, were in fine health, having been well-fed and cared for *en route*. Ingraham, II, 238–41.

[1] *Ib.*, 237–8. In 1852 Madame Pulszky found that in New Orleans most slaves in warehouses were from Virginia or South Carolina. Pulszky, II, 100.

[2] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 55–6. In most slave-breeding States as much attention was paid to the industry as to the breeding of horses and mules; and negro women were told to have children. 'I have known a great many negro girls to be sold off, because they did not have children.' He is quoting a letter of a slave-holder.

[3] Dew, 430–3.

stay for be sol' last;' and the one lucky enough to be chosen, was congratulated by the others.[1]

The abolition charge that the slaves were denied spiritual care, was disproved by their membership in churches, Southern writers claimed; nearly half a million slaves belonged to churches in 1860, mostly the Methodist and Baptist denominations; while the total membership of Christian churches in *all* 'heathen' countries in 1855 was only one hundred and eighty thousand.[2] Not only were slaves allowed and encouraged to attend white churches in the South, the galleries being given over to them exclusively, but they had churches of their own and slaves were preachers.[3] White ministers looked after the religious welfare and instruction of the slaves, and rich planters sometimes paid salaries for ministering to colored flocks.[4] Some plantations were provided with chapels for their exclusive use which the slaves called 'their prayer house.'[5] They frequented camp meetings, too, and there listened to preachers of their own race.[6]

Tens of thousands of Southern men and women firmly believed that God's hand was in the rescue of the negro from savagery to the superior state of bondage to a Christian people.[7] Comparison of the state of Southern slaves with that of their

[1] Ingraham, II, 202–3, 237. Fredrika Bremer gives an account of a slave auction in New Orleans, 267–72.

[2] Hundley, 297; Mackay, II, 131. And see Sawyer, 218–9, who said that slaves were admitted to membership in all evangelical churches; and that remote plantations were served by itinerant preachers.

[3] Harper, 37. Reed and Matheson found this to be the case in Lexington, Ky., in 1834, I, 217–21. Ingraham saw the same thing in Natchez where the slaves packed the galleries, and he said that two-thirds of the negroes whom he saw on the streets were on their way to church. Ingraham, II, 55–6 (1834).

The slave preacher was sometimes a 'driver' of his fellow slaves and always an important man among them. *Slave States:* Olmsted, 450–1. See Kemble, 67.

[4] Ingraham, II, 127–8. Ingraham saw a catechism which a planter had written for his slaves. Also see Hammond, 133. But, Mrs. Kemble says: 'Until the late abolition movement, the spiritual interests of the slaves were about as little regarded as their physical necessities.' Kemble, 67.

[5] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 449–50. The negroes asked one planter to have backs removed from the benches so that they could have '*room enough to pray*,' for at their devotions they danced, yelled, screamed, and flung themselves about madly. *Ib.*

[6] Reed and Matheson, I, 279.

[7] Ross, 36; Hundley, 299. The idea was widespread that through American slavery, by means of colonization, Africa was to be evangelized. Rice, 8–9. See resolutions of the Illinois Legislature, 1837. Vol. I, p. 192, *supra.*

African ancestors was the true standard of judgment.[1] 'I defy the world,' wrote Professor Dew in 1832, 'to produce a parallel to the rapid improvement of the slave in our continent since the period of his landing from the shores of his forefathers.' [2]

'During my time — I can remember how they were forty years ago — they have improved *two thousand percent!*' said a Virginia planter to Olmsted in 1853; and his testimony was confirmed by that of another planter.[3] Slavery had done much good in spite of its 'incidental evils,' a Northern Presbyterian minister declared, because it had been a 'wholesome training school for the negro from the lowest state of heathenism and barbarism to some degree of Christian civilization.' [4] Advocates of slavery constantly associated abolitionism with irreligion and lawlessness. The South was convinced that Garrison and his followers were 'infidels of the most impious type.' [5] It all came to this, cried Rev. Frederick A. Ross, during an impassioned speech before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in New York in 1856 — either liberty and order, or atheism and anarchy.[6]

No defenders of slavery were more vocal and militant than Southern ministers of the Gospel, and this fact led Abolitionists to belabor them lustily. Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian

[1] Simms, 272–3; Pulszky, II, 56.

[2] Dew in *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 278–80 (1836). And see Fitzhugh, 84–5.

[3] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 106. Italics Olmsted's. 'You may find them now, on the isolated old plantations, . . . with no more intelligence than when they first came from Africa. But all about where the country is much settled their condition is vastly ameliorated. They are treated much better, they are fed better, and they have much greater educational privileges.'

[4] *Slavery and the Bible:* Rev. Philip Schaff, Chambersburg, Pa., 1861, 32, Pro-Slavery Pamphlet. This is the opinion of many scholars at the present time, says Professor Phillips of slavery. 'It incidentally trained a savage race to a certain degree of fitness for life in the Anglo-Saxon community.' *Doc. Hist. Am. Indust. Socy.*, I, 71 (1909).

'In this new home, whate'er the negro's fate —
More bless'd his life than in his native state!
No mummeries dupe, no Fetich charms affright,
Nor rites obscene diffuse their moral blight;
Idolatries, more hateful than the grave,
With human sacrifice, no more enslave;
No savage rule its hecatomb supplies
Of slaves for slaughter when a master dies:' etc.

Grayson, 31.

[5] Rice, 21.

[6] Ross, 52.

preachers in the South were quoted as saying that slavery was 'instituted by God himself;' that Christian ministers and Bishops should be slave-holders, as should all church officials; that slavery was a 'moral relation' under which the negroes and whites were 'the happiest people in the whole world;' that any 'goat' among Southern ministers who was 'tainted with the blood-hound principles of abolitionism' ought to be 'silenced and excommunicated;' that Abolitionists were 'banditti' and ought to be lynched; that the fate of Haman would be meted out to any of them who crossed the Potomac.[1]

Was Northern solicitude for the slaves inspired by affection for, or any humane interest in the negro, defenders of the South inquired? If so, why was it not shown to the free blacks in the North? Behold their wretched plight! segregated, existing in hovels, rejected by hotels, excluded from trains and boats, the doors of churches closed upon them![2] Northern white laborers refused to work with them.[3] The free negro in the free States was an 'alien, an outcast, a pariah,' wrote an Englishman intimately familiar with the United States.[4] The increased prejudice against negroes which impressed Lafayette so powerfully on his tour of the United States more than forty years after the Revolution was exclusively in the free States.[5] There was, in fact, an unquenchable hatred of them in the North.

In that section free negroes were proscribed for having even a drop of black blood in their veins.[6] Look at the anti-negro riots in New York and Philadelphia in 1834![7] The Abolitionists had made no provision for them in the North.[8] Think of the

[1] Birney, 13–34; *A Tract for the Times:* Rev. Henry T. Cheever, Abolition pamphlet, N.Y., 1859; *A Scriptural View of the Moral Relations of African Slavery:* David Ewart, Southern pamphlet, 1859.

[2] Chevalier, 361; Chambers, 129; Kemble, 6–8.

[3] Chambers, 131–3, 300; Mitchell, 159–61.

[4] Mitchell, 161; Fisher, 21–2.

[5] Simms, 212–3, quoting Miss Martineau; Chambers, 126–7.

[6] Mackay, II, 138–9.

[7] Chevalier, 156–7; McMaster, VI, 231. They were largely labor riots.

[8] *Southern Literary Messenger*, XI, 513–28.

'You who turn aside with a curse from the ragged starveling on your own doorsteps to clamor that the poor slave shall be freed, but afterwards refuse to sit with the freedman in the house of God, or in the theatres, or in public conveyances, or any where else. . . . The Southern Gentleman entertains more real love for his "human chattels," than all

number of them who were criminals! Witness the report of the Grand Jury of Essex County, Canada, which stated that nine-tenths of all crimes in that County were committed by these vagabonds who were 'indolent, shiftless, and dishonest, and unworthy of . . . sympathy.' [1] On the other hand 'nothing is so rarely heard of, as an atrocious crime committed by a slave,' declared Chancellor Harper — the very supervision of the bondmen prevented it.[2] The truth was, asserted Southern writers, that abolition freed the slave and then cursed him, while slavery bound the negro and blessed him — gave him, throughout life, home, care, protection, and advancement, slow but constant.[3] 'The Southerner is the negro's friend, his only friend,' Fitzhugh wrote; 'let no intermeddling abolitionist . . . dissolve this friendship.' [4]

Southern spokesmen conceded that sometimes slave families were separated, but insisted that this circumstance was grossly overstated. Public opinion as well as humanity and interest prevented it.[5] Where sales of slaves were necessary, even at

the hair-brained abolitionists the world ever saw. His love is not theoretical but practical. . . . Formerly he was theoretically an abolitionist, but he has long since got rid of such puerile sentimentality.' Hundley, 60–1.

[1] Hundley, 301; Paulding, 58–9, 67. Paulding said that, in 1836, there were 20,000 free negroes in New York each of whom with a freehold of one hundred dollars could vote; although every encouragement was given them, not more than one hundred ever cast a ballot.

[2] Harper, 38. Lyell said that on a plantation in Georgia which he visited in 1845, where there were five hundred slaves, no penitentiary offence had been committed for forty years; that during that period there had been only six cases of assault and battery; and that the worst punishment had been for theft by one slave from another. *Second Visit:* Lyell, I, 265–6.

Free blacks in the South, on the contrary, were the most vicious and corrupting element in Southern life. During forty-five years in Virginia, the ratio of convicts was one in about three hundred and twenty-eight of the whole population and one in sixty-seven black or mulatto. *Slave States:* Olmsted, 125, quoting Howison.

[3] *Southern Literary Messenger*, XI, 528 (1845); Jones, 150–1.

[4] Fitzhugh, 95.

[5] 'Some painful instances may, perhaps, occur. Very few that can be prevented. It is, and always has been, an object of prime consideration with our slaveholders, to keep families together.' Hammond, 132.

'From what we heard stated in America,' many planters sold their slaves only when forced to do so by 'the pressure of extreme necessity.' Chambers, 116.

'Such divisions [of slave families] are, however, carefully guarded against and prevented, as far as possible, by owners, on the score of interest, as well as of religion and humanity.' Jones, 133.

Lyell speaks of the compulsory separation of families as one of the greatest evils of the

sheriffs' sales, effort was made to transfer families together — when the slaves desired it. Southern writers urged that family ties were not as strong among the negroes as among whites.[1] Usually they promptly forgot all about their domestic associations, and were singing, playing the banjo and amusing themselves, even when on their way to far distant plantations in the nether South. It was an instance of this kind, the sight of which so astonished and puzzled Lincoln when going down the Ohio with Speed on a steamboat in 1841.

The charge of miscegenation was frankly admitted and the evil bitterly denounced by Southern writers. Yet they claimed that even this condition was 'atrociously exaggerated,' although a single instance of it was wicked and disgraceful.[2] They mentioned certain facts which in their opinion partly explained it — propinquity, temperament of youth, qualities of the African.[3] The negro 'strongly inclined to polygamy,' [4] they pointed out, and scientists laid emphasis on the sensuality of the females of that race.[5]

Abolitionist accusations were irreconcilable. 'One of your heavy charges against us has been, that we regard and treat these people as brutes; you now charge us with habitually taking them to our bosoms.' [6] Nevertheless, natural repugnance, statutory law, and public opinion discouraged or condemned

system, but gave two examples of refusal to sell when such separation would result. *Second Visit,* I, 209–10.

In 1839 Buckingham wrote that separation of families was common. Buckingham, I, 249.

[1] Hammond, 132–3; Harper, 56–7; *Slave States:* Olmsted, 555–7; Sawyer, 219–22. All dwell upon the want of sensibility in the slaves of family relations. Sawyer declared that while marriage was customary among the slaves, they were, in general, indifferent to it; and that the hardest task of the master was to regulate sexual relations. Slave marriages were 'without legal recognition.' *American Negro Slavery:* Phillips, 500.

[2] Simms, 229–30; Hammond, 119, and all defenders of slavery.

[3] Harper, 40–6; *Retrospect:* Martineau, I, 267–8.

[4] Polygamy is practiced both secretly and openly. Holcombe, XXXIII, 405 (1861).

[5] Sawyer, 221. 'The female slave is proud of her connection with a white man,' etc., *Second Visit:* Lyell, I, 271–3.

Olmsted related that slave girls 'greatly detested' Northern families to whom they were hired as domestics, because their employers insisted on chastity and begged to be taken away from such rigid service; but Olmsted laid this fault to the corrupting effect of slavery. *Slave States:* Olmsted, 132–3.

[6] Hammond, 119.

miscegenation. So did practical plantation management; the owner or overseer realized that it lost the confidence of men slaves and gained the contempt of women slaves.[1] Still it was conceded by Southern writers that such illicit relations too often did exist, and no Abolitionist scourged the white offender so mercilessly as they did.[2]

The South gloried in the purity of Southern women — they were 'the model women of the age,' proudly declared a Southern writer, and compared their modesty and quiet manners with the bustling 'fashionables' of the North.[3] The abolition slanders about Southern women were ignored by Southern men, who yet remembered those defamations with silent but undying wrath and hatred. Apologists of the South handled the whole noisome subject with repugnance and regret.[4]

No restraint controlled their pens, however, when denying the charge that slavery was a violation of the spirit of American institutions or a sin in itself. The preamble to the Declaration of Independence was not meant to apply to negro slaves, they declared; if it was, Jefferson and other slave-holders who signed that immortal document would have manumitted their black bondmen.[5] Hamilton had said the same thing long before Jefferson, but he had reference to whites only, 'political men.'[6] The assertion that all men are created equal and endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, if considered as the statement of a principle founded on fact, was obviously untrue. On that point the Declaration meant only that Hancock, Adams, Jefferson, and other signers had told King George, Lord North and members of the British Parliament that they were 'as good men as you, any day' and 'your equals' in every respect. 'The Democracy which they asserted not only recognized, but insisted upon inequalities;'

[1] Sawyer, 220–1. [2] *Ib.* [3] Hundley, 72.

[4] 'But I have done with this disgusting topic.' Hammond, 120.

[5] *The Right of American Slavery:* T. W. Hoit, 23, Southern pamphlet, St. Louis, 1860, two editions of which numbered 500,000 copies.

[6] Sawyer, 208–9; Paulding, 44. 'Neither by birth, by inheritance, by public services nor by any natural or acquired claim, have the slaves of the United States any right to the privileges of free citizens of the United States, by whom alone liberty was achieved, and who alone are entitled to its blessings, on the ground of principles recognised by all civilized nations.' *Ib.*, 273. Also see Fisher, 13.

so the framers of our Constitution left slavery 'precisely as they found it.' [1]

The theory of the Declaration was imported from Rousseau and other philosophers of upheaval, of whom Jefferson had become a disciple,[2] said Southern defenders. Rank infidelity, 'blind and foolish,' to which he also subscribed, prevailed; and it was under the influence of that aberration that he wrote the 'exuberantly false and arborescently fallacious' preamble. 'Institutions founded on such generalities and abstractions . . . are like a splendid edifice built upon kegs of gunpowder.' [3]

Equality of birth never had happened, never would or could happen. Physically, mentally, and in every way, no two human beings were exactly alike when they came into the world; nor could they be made equals in fortune, achievement, or career by any possible legislation.[4]

Nor was 'equality' a good thing, since it was diversity that made the world attractive and beautiful.[5] No 'inalienable rights' existed . . . the volunteer soldier and sailor, for instance, deliberately parted from their independence, and those conscripted had most of their 'inalienable rights' taken from them forcibly.[6] Indeed, all civil government was but the restraint by law, enforced through pains and penalties, of the evil propensities of man.[7] 'None but brutes and savages desire entire liberty. The only free people in the world are the Digger Indians.' [8]

Even more absurd was the 'fanatical' cry that American slavery was essentially sinful, said advocates of slavery. It had actually ennobled the heathenish African. Was that sinful? [9] How outrageous, how patently false the charge that slave holders were thieves, man-stealers, monsters of cruelty and lust. Washington, Jefferson, Mason, Madison, Monroe, Jackson and Marshall were slave-holders. Were they criminals? Jonathan

[1] Simms, 252, 258. [2] Simms, 250–1.

[3] Fitzhugh, 182, 189, quoting Henry Lee, the critic of Jefferson.

[4] Harper, 6–7; Fitzhugh, 177–8, 180.

[5] Simms, 253–6. Simms quoted Shakespeare and Pope in support of his thesis of inequality. 255–6.

[6] Fitzhugh, 85, 107, 179–81. [7] *Ib.*, 170–1, 180; Simms, 259–60.

[8] Fitzhugh, 283. [9] Ross, 29.

Edwards, the foremost theologian of his time, was a slaveholder.[1] Was he a sinner? George Whitefield, who, next to Wesley, was the most eminent Methodist of his day, owned slaves.[2] Was he a wicked man?

Slavery prevailed everywhere when Jesus came — there were sixty million slaves in the Roman Empire when the Savior began to teach — yet Christ and the Apostles did not condemn it.[3] How, then, could it be a sin? Peter counselled submission. Paul sent the fugitive slave, Onesimus, back to his master, Philemon. Why did not these early proclaimers of the Word advise slaves to run away?[4] St. John prophesied that at the end of the world there would be 'BOTH FREE AND BOND.'[5] Defenders of slavery vehemently insisted that the Bible throughout, approved the relation of master and slave.[6] '*We accept the Bible terms as the definition of our Slavery, and its precepts as the guide of our conduct,*' wrote Governor Hammond in 1845, while the Abolitionists '*deny the Bible, and set up in its place a law of their own making.*'[7] Even if slavery were an evil it was their own; they were responsible for it, and it was not the business of outsiders to interfere.[8]

About the sin of slavery, as determined by Biblical standards, the verbal controversy raged more fiercely than at any other point except, perhaps, that of miscegenation, and the Abolitionists were hard pressed to meet scriptural quotations. Abolition preachers finally took the ground that the many passages of the Old and New Testaments in which slavery was recognized and approved had been translated incorrectly.[9] The defenders of

[1] Rice, 12.

[2] *History of the United States from the Compromise of* 1850: James Ford Rhodes, I, 5.

[3] Paulding, 23–7; 291; Sawyer, 104–10; Hammond, 106; Dew, 451–3. All pro-slavery writers made copious Biblical citations.

[4] Sawyer, 104–18. The angel of the Lord told the runaway slave, Hagar, to go back to her mistress: 'Poor Hagar! Wert thou deluded by some vendor of quack medicines and wooden nutmegs? How many Hagars, starving in the wilderness, may now be found in the North?' Fitzhugh, 297.

[5] Hundley, 323.

[6] *Southern Literary Messenger,* XI, 513–28 (1845); XVII, 193–205 (1850).

[7] Hammond, 108–9. Italics Hammond's. [8] Clay, VIII, 150.

[9] *An Examination of the Mosaic Law of Servitude:* William Jay, Abolition pamphlet, N.Y., 1854. See also *A Debate on Slavery,* between Rev. J. Blanchard, Sixth Presby-

slavery hooted in derision. For a long time most Northern preachers avoided the subject or openly and vigorously championed the Southern view. Dr. Moses Stuart, Professor of Theology in Andover,[1] Rev. Wilbur Fisk, D.D., President of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, Rev. Nathan Lord, D.D., President of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire,[2] the Right Rev. John Henry Hopkins, Episcopal Bishop of Vermont, and many ministers and divines of lesser station, wrote brochures and preached sermons to show the Biblical and Christian authority for slavery. Abolition ministers produced counter pamphlets and denounced in terms of fury their fellow clergymen who defended the 'Curse.'

Excitement ran ever higher, feeling grew ever more intense. Debates were held between prominent clergymen of high reputations. At conference after conference, assembly after assembly, synod after synod, the denominations refused to condemn slavery, and sometimes rebuked those who insisted on emancipation.[3]

But gradually anti-slavery sentiment gained the upper hand; and in 1844 the Methodist Church split on the subject, the Southern ministers withdrawing and organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which endures to this day.[4] Then

terian Church, Cincinnati, affirmative, and N. L. Rice, Central Presbyterian Church, negative, 103, 108, 135, 138.

[1] *Conscience and the Constitution:* Dr. Moses Stuart, 1850.

[2] *A Letter of Inquiry to Ministers of the Gospel of All Denominations on Slavery:* Rev. Nathan Lord, D.D., Anti-abolition pamphlet, 1854. Also *A Northern Presbyter's Second Letter*, etc. by same, 1855.

[3] Brief and prejudiced accounts of the failure of churches to denounce slavery and of pro-slavery statements by ministers of all denominations were printed by the Abolitionists and widely circulated. *The Church as it is, or the Forlorn Hope of Slavery:* Parker Pillsbury, Boston, 1847, Abolition pamphlet. This was almost identical with the pamphlet by James G. Birney entitled *American Churches, the Bulwarks of American Slavery.*

Also see *Relations of Anti-Slavery to Religion:* Charles K. Whipple, Anti-Slavery Tract No. 19 (about 1840), Abolition pamphlet. Also *Slavery and Anti-Slavery:* William Goodell, N. Y., 1855, Abolition book.

[4] For ten years before actual separation the anti-slavery feeling in the Methodist Episcopal Church had led to secession on the part of many members in the North, to acrid debates and persecution among the ministry, and to the growth of a feeling quite as aggressive as that of the Abolitionists. The formation of Wesleyan Societies in which slave holding was prohibited, not only gave an organization to secession from the church, but encouraged an anti-slavery spirit among the loyal Methodists of the North in the hope of checking the spread of the seceding movement. The same influence aroused

came a like division of the Baptist Church, and the association of Presbyterian Churches in the two sections was also practically suspended. The Episcopal Church avoided schism, as did the Catholic Church.

Though Southern writers and spokesmen said and wrote much on the Biblical and sociological aspects of slavery, they constantly reminded the assailants of that institution of the material loss which emancipation would cost them, and of the unhappy results to the North of a negro exodus to that section. Cotton, sugar, and rice could not be raised without negro slave labor — the Caucasian could not stand the heat, the negro revelled in it. Europe and the North must have cotton. Emancipation meant idleness and starvation for multitudes of workingmen in the North and in England.[1] Why did not opponents of slavery show their sincerity by refusing to use the staples it produced? The South was by far the best customer of the North, and every item was bought largely by the proceeds of slave labor. Did Northern manufacturers or merchants refuse to sell on that account? Did they not make and vend the very articles of slave discipline and punishment — whip, handcuff, shackle, chain? Did not Abolitionists themselves buy and use cotton goods, sugar, rice, and other output of the Wickedness? [2]

Suppose the three or four million slaves were emancipated — what would happen then? Already they outnumbered the whites in two or three States, and were increasing rapidly. Let

alarm in the Methodists of the South who saw their position as slave-holders threatened within the church on the grounds urged by the extreme Abolitionists. Such was the situation when the Conference of 1844 met in May, in New York City, and the slavery question came up at once and the first vote proved that the opposers of slavery largely outnumbered its supporters. Every effort to reconcile the two parties failed and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, came into being. 'This was not schism but division for greater mutual prosperity,' said Dr. Charles Elliott, who favored the separation. The differences in the church reflected the political differences in the Nation and were believed by many to have shaken the pillars of the Union. *History of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South:* 1845; *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War:* William Warren Sweet, 1912; *The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church,* 1844; John Nelson Norwood, 1923.

The immediate circumstance which brought to a head the conflict in the Methodist Church was a resolution offered in the General Conference of 1844, suspending Bishop James O. Andrew from his episcopal duties, because he had, through marriage, become connected with slave-holding.

[1] Harper, 86–8; Fisher, 61–3. [2] Ross, 16–7.

the Northern people look at the free negroes among them, think of them multiplied hundreds of times, and the plight of Southern white men and women, surrounded by uncontrolled black hordes, would be realized to some extent. It would mean a fight between African and Caucasian, and a fight to the death. 'The war of the races is an event of the certain future,' predicted the English journalist, Mackay, in 1846–47.[1] If the negroes should win, 'the fabric of civilization and liberty, which consumed ages in its construction, would be demolished . . . by the relentless fury of ignorant barbarians. A new Africa would spring up in the place of free and enlightened states.' [2]

If the slaves were not only 'freed' but given the ballot, the situation would be far worse. Without experience of or instinct for self-government, the emancipated and enfranchised negro would be 'a libertine in morals and an anarchist in politics.' [3] Led by disreputable men, this tremendous negro vote would unite with Northern enemies of the South and control the National Government.[4] In Southern States, where they were in the majority, the blacks would dominate local governments. Could white men and women be expected to submit to that? Never! unless forced to do so at the point of bayonets.

And just that was what the whole project would come to in the end, declared both Southern and Northern antagonists of emancipation. '*The negro question lies far deeper than the slavery question*,' wrote a Pennsylvania clergyman as late as 1861.[5] The South would resist, she would be forced to resist, warned Paulding in 1836. 'It may be sport to us, but it is death to them.' [6] In 1839, Clay foresaw disunion and war as the certain outcome of the abolition movement. The 'fanatics' would finally succeed in uniting the North against the South and 'union on the one side will beget union on the other. . . . The collision of opinion will be quickly followed by the clash of arms.' [7] Under any

[1] Mackay, II, 139–40. [2] Paulding, 82–3. [3] *Ib.*, 89–90.

[4] Pulszky, II, 58. 'To give them political rights, would be a most dangerous thing; for being untrained to public life, they would become the tools of demagogues.'

[5] Schaff, 31. Italics Schaff's. 'What is called the slavery question . . . ought to be called the negro question.' Fisher, 12.

[6] Paulding, 53.

[7] Clay, VIII, 157. Clay pictured 'desolated fields, conflagrated cities, murdered in-

circumstances, immediate emancipation was impossible. 'The growth of *ages* may require *ages* to remove,' wrote Professor Dew in 1832.[1]

But, said Southern writers, there was no such thing as reasoning with Abolitionists, for they were blind to facts, deaf to argument; [2] they advocated lawlessness if, to them, the law was wrong; their code of conduct was that the end justified the means. They constituted an 'eccentric faction, shedding from its humid hair pestilence upon the nations.' [3] It was the same old story — the 'libertines of philanthropy' had always caused most human ills by trying to cure imaginary evils.[4] As to those in the North who, because they believed the falsehoods told by abolition agitators, opposed the extension of slave territory, but did not think it should be disturbed in the slave States — this class had simply been deceived; and they were used by Northern politicians who cared nothing whatever about slavery, except to employ the subject as a pawn in their party game.[5] The whole anti-slavery movement was aimed at the South as much as against slavery, the Southern people concluded.[6]

All that the South asked, its spokesmen said, was to be let alone — let alone in its social and economic life, let alone in the exercise of its rights. What rights? Those established and guaranteed by the Constitution; the right of each State to manage its own affairs in its own way, the right to recover fugitive slaves as the Nation's fundamental law ordained, the right to prevent Northern 'incendiaries' from stirring up insurrection

habitants;' and, no matter which side won, it would be a 'suicidal conquest . . . of brothers over brothers, . . . the descendants of common ancestors.'

[1] Dew, 287–8, 490. Italics Dew's.

'The Saxon, residing in the South with the negro, has chosen this system for his government. He claims the right . . . by the prerogative of race, by the decree of nature, which made him the superior of the negro, in force of mind and character, and therefore his ruler. He will not relinquish his claim. He cannot if he would. His right to it runs in his veins, beats in his breast. . . . He will resist whilst he can, any power that shall attempt to interfere with that right.' Fisher, 15–6.

[2] Paulding, 63.

[3] Henry L. Benning to Howell Cobb, Feb. 23, 1848. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 99. Benning was a lawyer of Columbus, Ga., and became a Brigadier General in the Confederate Army.

[4] Paulding, 107. [5] *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIII, 434 (July, 1847).

[6] *Ib.*, XX, 60–1 (Jan., 1854).

and lighting the fires of servile war through the South, the right to equal enjoyment of territories acquired by the common effort and sacrifice of South and North alike.

Most Northern people denied some of these 'rights'; Abolitionists denied all of them, and the whole North complained that the South had ruled the Nation. Even if that were true, had any injustice been done the North? Had the South 'invaded' the North or tried to make that part of the country like the South? [1] If Southern men had predominated in National Councils, it was because there was more public ambition in that section. Burke, in his speech in Parliament on his resolutions for conciliation with the Colonies, had declared that the spirit of liberty was 'more high and haughty' in the South than elsewhere in the Colonies, and that this was so wherever the Caucasian held the African in bondage.[2]

Southern jurists and publicists asserted that the Northern complaint that three-fifths of the slaves were counted in determining the number of representatives in Congress, showed crass ignorance of the reason for that Constitutional provision. That proposal came from James Wilson of Pennsylvania, they said, whom Washington placed on the Supreme Bench. The quota was originally based on the economic ground that negro labor was inferior to white labor.[3] Hamilton had explained that point in the New York Convention on the Constitution. The provision was 'entirely just,' for representation '*should be compounded of persons and property;*' and since much of the population and property of the South consisted of slaves, the inclusion of three-

[1] *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXXII, 308–11 (April, 1861). *DeBow's Review*, VIII, 92 (1850), gave a summary of the number of years that Northern and Southern men had held the principal offices in the National Government from 1790 to 1850:

President	North	12	years;	South	48	years.
Vice-Pres.	"	40	" ;	"	20	"
Chief Justice	"	11	" ;	"	48	"
Sec. State	"	20	" ;	"	40	"
Sec. Treas.	"	46	" ;	"	14	"
Sec. War	"	34	" ;	"	25	"
Sec. Navy	"	40	" ;	"	19	"
P.-M. General	"	35	" ;	"	25	"
Att'y Gen.	"	20	" ;	"	39	"
Speaker House	"	23	" ;	"	37	"

[2] R. T. H., in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XI, 455 (1845).

[3] Stephens, II, 95–102.

fifths of them in arranging the scale of representation was 'one result of the spirit of accommodation which governed the [Constitutional] Convention; and without this indulgence no Union could possibly have been formed.' [1]

More than forty years after Hamilton wrote that obvious truth, Madison had urged that the same rule for representation should be adopted by Virginia because personal and property rights 'cannot well be separated.' [2] Madison, who more than any one man gave interpretation to the national compact, had thus spoken in the fulness of age and wisdom, when personal ambition could no longer influence him. Instead of being a concession to the South by the North, it was the other way around, insisted Southern lawyers; if the South had no slaves, she would have an equal number of free laborers and therefore a larger delegation in Congress.

Next to their terror of black supremacy, the Southern people feared national consolidation. To many, indeed, this danger was paramount; and all thought that centralization of power would be fatal to the rights of individuals as well as of the States. Either disunion or consolidation would destroy the Republic, but of these two evils, consolidation was the worse. Even if a centralized government were still called a democracy, 'it would become the most corrupt, the most demoralizing, the most intolerably oppressive government which the annals of history could furnish.' The outcome would be that 'the greedy many' would rob 'the proscribed few;' [3] and there would be no safeguard, since constitutional guarantees would be extinguished by the very forces that brought about consolidation.[4]

If liberty was to be preserved, only a federated government could successfully function over a country as vast as the United States — a centralized national establishment could not work and still retain freedom. Division of power was 'the very essence of liberty,' consolidation necessarily 'despotic,' whether the power be wielded by a single autocrat or by 'an absolute and unchecked majority,' Calhoun had said in the Senate in

[1] R. T. H., in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XI, 453–4 (1845). [2] *Ib.*, 454.

[3] Dew, in *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 280–1 (1832).

[4] Calhoun, *Works*, II, 384–5.

1834.[1] Yet that was the purpose and surely would be the outcome of the crusade by Northern antagonists of slavery and assailants of the South. Even after the Civil War Stephens stated what was still the Southern belief, that 'the Abolition or Anti-Slavery Party . . . in truth, was the party of Centralism and Consolidation.' [2]

So Southern spokesmen contended, as George Mason and Patrick Henry had done in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1788, that a national government with ever-increasing powers would finally usurp the rights of States, and extinguish personal liberties won by centuries of struggle and sacrifice.[3] Professor Dew predicted in 1836, that consolidation would end in the tyrannical dominance by a national majority, made up of the envious, the fanatical, the ignorant; and that the provident and prosperous would become the victims of these hordes of rapacity and intolerance. A sullen and ignorant proletariat pandered to by demagogues would, by means of 'legislative plunder,' work havoc with property, enterprise, and thrift. Not only would that American freedom perish for which patriots of the Revolution fought, but American character would be debased, tame submission would take the place of manly independence and nobody would assert or even give voice to his rights or opinions. The individual would be suppressed by the hosts of prejudice and ignorance led by ambitious hypocrites. The time would come when America would have no more Washingtons or Jeffersons, because consolidation meant the death of genius — the multitude did not tolerate wisdom or greatness. Therefore, he counselled, 'let us foster and cherish and love our State institutions as the palladium of our liberties and the nursery of our real greatness.' [4]

[1] Calhoun, *Works*, II, 386–7.

[2] Stephens, II, 28. As late as 1868, Stephens was still convinced that the anti-slavery movement brought into action principles 'which must inevitably, if carried out, ultimately lead to the absorption of all power in the Central Government and end sooner or later in Absolutism or Despotism.' *Ib.*, 33.

Chevalier wrote Thiers in 1834 that 'the principle of separation is engaged in a deadly conflict with the spirit of centralization or consolidation.' Chevalier, 97.

[3] Calhoun, 'Discourse on the Constitutional Government of the United States:' *Works*, I, 380–1.

[4] Dew, in *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 281–2 (1836).

Such were the sombre forecasts made by Southern thinkers; and the vast majority of the people of the South believed, with the ardor of religious conviction, that those prophecies would come true if the rights and sovereignty of the States were not maintained. Moreover, that was the best method of preserving any Union worth having, a voluntary Union of separate communities called States, a Union held together by mutual interests, racial ties, bonds of affection, and glorious memories — not an enforced Union, sustained by physical might. To tens of thousands of Southern men, this view was so dear that they were willing to die for it; and it was to uphold that idea rather than slavery, that such men took the field.[1] To them loyalty to their State came before fealty to the Federal establishment, and in case of conflict their duty was to their State.[2]

Each of the old States had an individuality and was infinitely proud of its history. 'The Virginian is a Virginian everywhere,' proudly declared Professor Beverly Tucker of William and Mary College in 1838.[3] Yale, Harvard, Princeton, even West Point, 'did not seem to nationalize the Southerner.'[4] The conflict was, declared Calhoun in 1837, between the idea of a 'Federal Republic . . . the constituent parts of which were States' and 'a national consolidated republic, in which the constituent parts were the aggregate mass of the American people.'[5] 'The principle of States' rights was incarnate in the historical life of the Southern people,' Professor Gildersleeve testifies; the rank and file of the masses were for that theory of government and were not led or coerced to support it by Southern leaders.[6]

[1] *Creed of the Old South:* Basil L. Gildersleeve, 45–6. Professor Gildersleeve was born and brought up in the South and there laid the foundations of that mastery of Greek which, in later life, gave him fame as one of the foremost classical scholars of his time. On the outbreak of the war he enlisted in the Southern army and became a member of Gen. Gordon's staff. He took part in many battles and was seriously wounded in the Valley of Virginia, 1864.

[2] Calhoun, *Works*, III, 178.

Southern feeling was accurately expressed by poems which, for the most part, appeared in newspapers. A good example of these was one entitled 'Georgia' in the *Augusta Mirror* in 1839, reprinted in Buckingham, I, 216–8.

[3] 'Discourse on the Genius of the Federative System of the United States:' Beverly Tucker in *Southern Literary Messenger*, IV, 761–9 (1838).

[4] Gildersleeve, 37.

[5] Senate Speech, Dec. 27, 1837. *Works*, III, 166.

[6] Gildersleeve, 31–2; Pulszky, I, 120 (1853).

Patriotism of locality was, the Southern people believed, elemental patriotism, the source of all genuine patriotism. That sublime emotion was really possible only in small units; so the State was basic, the Nation subsidiary.[1] Attachment to the soil, loyalty to the State, existed in the Southern breast to a degree scarcely apprehended in the North.[2] 'Take away this local patriotism and you take out all the color that is left in American life,' still insists the voice of the old South.[3]

So the South stood for the Constitution as it was, with all its guarantees, and with all powers, not expressly delegated to the Federal Government, reserved to the States. It stood, too, for established order and against the many innovations which, as the slavery dispute went forward, were advanced in Europe and the North — suffrage for women, relaxation of matrimonial laws and customs, interference of government with private enterprise, and socialistic teachings of French theorists. The loose views of marriage and the decadence of the family in America, were regarded as indications of a general decline.[4] The South said, and the South believed, that abolitionism and socialism threatened to engulf the world. Look at France, 'where the atheistic ravings of Proudhon, the insane socialism of Louis

[1] Tucker, in *Southern Literary Messenger*, IV, 761–9 (1838).

[2] Buckingham, II, 79.

[3] Gildersleeve, 34.

A novel entitled *The Partisan Leader*, published in 1836, was reviewed in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, III, 73–87. The encroachments of the Federal Government on the rights of the States were forecast and finally this process resulted in a consolidated government with the powers of a monarchy and the South seceded, except Virginia, which was forcibly kept in submission. In this state of things the 'Partisan Leader' took the field. The novel was published as by Edward William Sydney, a pseudonym of Beverly Tucker.

[4] The South put particular emphasis upon this feature of social decay in the North — witness the indifference to family ties, the bad manners of children, etc. Hundley, 75.

Fitzhugh, 113, thus stated the Southern view: 'Marriage in the South is a Christian ordinance as well as a civil contract, to be celebrated only by ministers of the Gospel. At the North marriage is a mere bargain, like the purchase of a horse, with the difference that the wife cannot be swapped off. . . . We are not surprised that frequent wife murder should result from their low, sordid, worldly view of the marriage tie; and still less surprised that, with these, and a hundred other ill consequences, arising from their sort of marriage, that women's conventions should be held to assert her rights to liberty, independence and breeches, and that sympathizing bachelors in the ranks of socialism propose to dispense with this troublesome and inconvenient relation altogether.'

Blanc, or the profligate councils of the debauchee Rollin' were accepted as the teachings of liberty; while the North, 'where mere Numbers reign supreme,' was 'the congenial soil of every species of fanaticism.' [1]

The South would have none of it; the South with her ideas and practice of order and decorum was, loftily exclaimed Southern writers, the stable and stabilizing element of American life. 'Oneida Perfectionists would no sooner be tolerated in Virginia than Pyrrhic Dances and human sacrifices to Moloch.' [2] A great wave of radicalism was sweeping over the world while the anti-slavery agitation was in progress; and Southern thinkers and the Southern people concluded that abolition, consolidation, and other 'socialistic' Northern tendencies were but manifestations in America of that philosophy of iconoclasm which, if it prevailed, would destroy liberty and imperil civilization itself.[3] 'The abolitionist . . . was considered not so much the friend of the negro as the enemy of society,' relates Professor Gildersleeve.[4]

Brooding over the attacks on Southern character, society, and institutions, and growing ever more defiant, embittered, and boastful, the Southern mind welcomed another idea which was to have decided influence on Southern policy. In 1834 Chevalier pointed out that the people of the South were fundamentally different from those of the North. 'They are the same men who cut each other's throats in England, under the name of Round-

[1] *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI, 376–9 (June, 1850).

[2] Fitzhugh, 110. A society of communists which started in Vermont in 1838 was established at Oneida, N.Y., in 1847, and was popularly called 'The Oneida Perfectionists.' Its basic ideas were community of labor and property, free-will, marriage without ceremony and without permanent ties, and community support, education, and control, of children.

[3] Fitzhugh, 205. This view was thus stated to Madame Pulszky in 1853: 'After the abolition of slavery nothing can be reasonably expected but the deluge; all our institutions will be swept away, and anarchy will begin. Slavery alone maintains order, society, and family in the United States against Communism, Socialism, and all the "*isms*" of Europe. The conservative feeling of the South is the natural consequence of slavery.' Pulszky, II, 50.

[4] Gildersleeve, 47. 'Not that the inhabitants of the South regard slavery as necessary to the wealth of the planter; for on this point many of them agree with their Northern countrymen in freely admitting that slavery is prejudicial to their interests; but they are convinced that, however prejudicial it may be, they hold their lives upon no other tenure.' *Democracy in America:* Alexis de Tocqueville (ed. 1839), 375–6.

heads and Cavaliers,' and they would have done the same thing in America, 'had not Providence thrown them wide apart.' At great length the French investigator elaborated this thesis.[1] All over the South this thought grew until it hardened into a conviction. Ethnologically the Southerner was the superior of the man of the North, they believed and earnestly said; the one was the descendant of the Norman, the other of the ancient Briton, from whom the Puritan sprang. So the North had been settled by 'disaffected religionists,' grumblers and busy-bodies; the South by the offspring of 'that race who have established law, order and government over the earth.' [2]

The immense foreign immigration to the North strengthened this Southern feeling of racial superiority; and the vogue throughout the South of the novels of Sir Walter Scott, which were more widely read than all other books of the period, greatly influenced Southern character.[3] No phase of the development of sentiment in the South is more engaging than the progress of the idea, as revealed in Southern literature, that the people of that section were essentially unlike those of the North and of a better stock. This feature of the sectional conflict we shall often behold as the struggle draws nearer. Southern repugnance to economic convulsion was, Southern thinkers believed, instinctive as well as reasoned; it had its roots in racial origins. Deeper than economic or constitutional causes, as deep indeed as the biological sources of slavery, the contest of North and South was, Southern writers finally declared, 'between the lawless and fierce democracy of the one and the high commanding conservatism of the other.' [4]

Thus the South was conservative — profoundly, intensely, militantly conservative. In 1853, Olmsted found that Southern men believed that there were 'seeds, at present almost inert, of disaster at the North, against which Slavery will be their protection. . . . The North, say they, has progressed under the high pressure of unlimited competition; as the population grows

[1] Chevalier, 114–24, 150–3.

[2] *Southern Literary Messenger*, xxx, 401–9.

[3] *Jefferson Davis:* H. J. Eckenrode, 10–1.

[4] *Southern Literary Messenger*, xxxiii, 112.

denser, there will be terrific explosions, disaster, and ruin.' [1] The Southern people believed that the South would be saved from such convulsions by her conservative convictions which rested on localism and slavery. 'The institution is *based* on *conservatism*,' declared Stephens in 1860, and 'everything that weakens this has a tendency to weaken the institution.' [2] Expressing the same idea twenty-three years earlier, Calhoun announced that, as to the conflict between labor and capital in the North, 'the weight of the South has [been] and will ever be found on the conservative side.' [3]

Particular grievances fused these Southern opinions. The Constitution guaranteed the return to their owners of slaves escaping into other States; the Supreme Court, through Justice Story of Massachusetts, had unanimously decided that this guarantee must be carried out by act of Congress, and had declared that the Constitution could not have been established or the Federal Government created without that provision in the fundamental law of the nation.[4] Yet citizens of Northern States

[1] *Slave States:* Olmsted, 183–4.

[2] Stephens to J. H. Smith, July 10, 1860. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 486–7. Italics Stephens'.

[3] Senate Speech, Jan. 10, 1838. *Works*, III, 180.

[4] Edward Prigg *vs.* The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 16 Peters, 539–614, January Term, 1842.

By the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 the Constitutional provisions for the delivery of runaway slaves to the owner, were to be executed by State officials. In 1826 the Legislature of Pennsylvania enacted that to take out of that State by force or fraud, any negro or mulatto for the purpose of slavery was a felony.

In 1832 a slave woman belonging to Margaret Ashmore escaped from Maryland into Pennsylvania. Five years later, Edward Prigg, as attorney and agent of the owner, secured from a Justice of the Peace in Pennsylvania, a warrant for the arrest of the slave and she was taken before him; but he refused to issue the certificate as required by the National Fugitive Slave Law, as Prigg had seized her without the simple process provided by the law. Therefore Prigg, himself, without a certificate, took the slave to Maryland and delivered her to Margaret Ashmore.

Two years later Prigg again went to Pennsylvania, and while there was indicted for violations of the State law of 1826. He was convicted, the judgment of the trial court was affirmed *pro forma* by the State Supreme Court and the case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. In reality it was an agreed case and the two parties were the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Justice Story delivered the opinion of the Court, which was unanimous, that the Pennsylvania law was unconstitutional. Chief Justice Taney, however, in a separate opinion, insisted that even Congress could not put any condition or restriction upon the right of the owner, peaceably, to recover his slave, since that right was given by the Constitution.

In the course of his opinion Justice Story declared that without the adoption of the

were forcibly resisting that part of the Federal compact and the law of Congress made in pursuance of it. Northern governors were refusing to obey Constitution and statute. What could the South do? She must either insist upon and secure the observance by other States and their citizens of the agreement by which the Union was formed, or she must submit to the violation of it. The only other possible course would be that she withdraw from the Union.

Another sore complaint irritated the Southern mind. A vast extent of territory had been added to the Republic by treaty and war. The South thought that the control of this immense domain should be divided equally between the two sections. It had been secured by Southern blood and money as well as by Northern valor and resources, by Southern statesmanship even more than by Northern.[1] So it was only fair, said Southern spokesmen, that half of it should come in as slave States — certainly, that the line established by the Missouri Compromise should be extended to the Pacific. Everybody knew that to be the spirit and true meaning of that historic adjustment, insisted all supporters of Southern demands.

Yet, said they, the North insisted on excluding slavery from every part of this wide domain — and that meant excluding the

fugitive slave provision of the Constitution 'the Union could not have been formed.' The Court's opinion was clear and emphatic that Congress had full and exclusive power to enact fugitive slave laws; but added that this sweeping power did not, of course, impair the police power of States 'to arrest and restrain runaway slaves, and remove them from their borders, and otherwise secure themselves against their depredations and evil example.'

To guard against the misuse of the police power, however, Story said, speaking for the Court: 'But such regulations can never be permitted to interfere with or to obstruct the just rights of the owner to reclaim his slave, derived from the Constitution of the United States, or with the remedies prescribed by Congress to aid and enforce the same.'

Notwithstanding a reiteration of the principle that Congress had exclusive power to legislate on the subject and that States could not interfere therewith, Story said that State magistrates did not have to obey that part of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 applicable to them and that State Legislatures might forbid them to do so. In practical effect, this language rendered useless that provision of the National statute. It was *obiter dictum*, but was made use of by Northern Legislatures to justify the enactment of State laws against the capture of fugitive slaves.

Historically, the Prigg case is one of the most important decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. Knowledge of it is indispensable to an understanding of the American conflict over slavery. For this and other adjudications of fugitive slave cases, see Channing, VI, 89, *et seq.*

[1] Fisher, 23.

South. If the North had her way, the South would speedily become a subordinate and ever-decreasing influence in the General Government — a mere province, a helpless dependency. On this point the same response took place in the Southern mind and heart that moved New England men to threaten dissolution of the Union when the Louisiana Purchase added to the Nation an imperial territory in the South and West, and seemed to doom the Northeastern influence until then equal, if not dominant, in national councils. If slavery were excluded from the new territorial acquisitions, the North would not only secure control of the National Government and degrade the South to a colonial status, but, through that control, would ultimately abolish slavery, with all the economic ruin and social desolation which emancipation would entail. So reasoned the Southern people.[1]

Thus, as the troubled years wore on, a sentiment for disunion spread throughout the South. Almost coincident with the beginning of the abolition crusade a counter movement for secession started in that section; and every circumstance gave it strength and momentum. The Southern people believed that they had a right to withdraw from the Union, if they wished; and thousands in the North thought so, too. Even Southern men who opposed secession on other grounds, had no doubt as to the principle; and as the controversy progressed, an ever increasing number accepted the opinion that separation was necessary and wise. Yet they did so with reluctance and regret. As late as 1850 *DeBow's Review* declared that every Southern man realized that the value of the Union was 'superlatively great' and 'glorious, too,' and that the crisis had been forced by Northern 'fanatics.' [2]

Time and time again Calhoun gloomily declared that from the very first he had seen that Southern secession would be the inevitable result of the Northern attack on slavery. That institution was so interwoven in the very fibres of Southern society — economic, social, and political, that to destroy it would destroy the South, to assail it was to assail the South. Thus came

[1] Mackay, II, 146. This was the burden of most of Calhoun's speeches.

[2] *DeBow's Review*, IX, 121–2.

the Southern warning, written by Calhoun and signed by Senators and Representatives from that section, and proclaimed to the Nation just before Lincoln's term in the House expired.[1]

That solemn but spirited pronouncement was no idle threat of an impatient and inflammatory faction; it was, instead, the voice of the South. While, from party considerations, Southern Whigs like Stephens and Toombs, refused to sign it, so swiftly did events move forward, that, in less than a year, ancient party lines were broken and practically all Southern men, in response to a well-nigh unanimous Southern demand, stood shoulder to shoulder in defence of Southern institutions and in defiant resistance to what they declared to be Northern 'aggressions' upon the 'rights' and the very life of the South. Yet a strong union sentiment still lingered in the hearts of Southern people, and we shall see it in action at a decisive moment during the crisis immediately before us.

Stated with utmost brevity and in broad outline, such was the Southern view of the situation when the critical year of 1850 arrived: considerations of property, of government, of society, of race were involved — economic, political, social, biological considerations. By the convening of the Thirty-first Congress, the quarrel had become dangerously acute and the Union under the Constitution was in peril. That event which Washington had foreseen and the thought of which shook even his brave heart, seemed near at hand. So came the epochal debate to which we are now to listen and the historic compromise that Lincoln so whole-heartedly approved.

[1] See Vol. II, p. 187, *supra*.

CHAPTER II

WAR POSTPONED: THE GREAT COMPROMISE

I have never before addressed any assembly so oppressed, so appalled, so anxious. CLAY, Feb. 5, 1850.

I see nothing short of conquest on the one side or submission on the other. DAVIS, Feb. 13, 1850.

I speak for the preservation of the Union. Hear me for my cause. WEBSTER, March 7, 1850.

THE Thirty-first Congress assembled in a swirl of emotions, aggressive groups from North and South bristling, belligerent, defiant; the moderate and the weak trembling with apprehension, uncertainty, and fear. 'Never,' wrote Alexander H. Stephens, long afterwards, 'had any Congress convened under so much excitement.' [1]

Two months before the meeting of Congress, a State Convention at Jackson, Mississippi, had issued a call for a general Southern Convention to be held at Nashville, Tennessee, on June 3, 1850; and, hard upon the opening of the National Legislature, Southern States began to endorse the project and select delegates. No concealment was made that the Nashville Convention would urge withdrawal from the Union if Congress enacted proposed legislation which, as the South believed, was hostile to that section.[2]

The crowds within the sprawling, unkempt Capitol thrummed with excitement, like a taut wire in a high wind. The country was breathless with suspense. Could antagonism be composed? Could the Constitution be preserved? Could the Union be saved? Was adjustment possible? The time and place called for conciliation and restraint, for wisdom, for statesmanship. 'Great events are near at hand,' said the National Democratic

[1] Stephens, II, 177.

[2] *a*. The Wilmot proviso, expressly excluding slavery from the territories; *b*. admission of California as a free State; *c*. abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; *d*. abolition of the slave trade among the slave States; *e*. refusal to pass a new Fugitive Slave Law in place of the existing defective statute.

organ. 'The time has come when the Union can be preserved only by the compromising spirit which framed it.' [1]

Again the Senate was the arena of supreme parliamentary conflict, again the place of historic argument and eloquence, again the chamber of final council and decision. Three old men were there, the foremost statesmen of their day and among the outstanding statesmen of history. Each was nearing the end of his life, one was dying, the other two not far distant from their graves; and all knew their condition. Each had striven mightily in great political battles, each had made a brilliant and enduring record. All three had been distinguished members of the National House, leaders of the Senate, and each had been Secretary of State.

Of all public men since Washington, these were the three whom the tall, gaunt, despondent, humorous but profoundly thoughtful lawyer in Springfield, Illinois, most admired. Lincoln read and pondered every word uttered by Clay, Calhoun, and Webster during the momentous session which we are now to review with him, and he read, too, all that was said by the newer men in the Senate, each of them attractive, commanding, purposeful — Douglas, Jefferson Davis, Chase, and Seward. Nor was he less attentive to alarming words and tumultuous scenes in the House.

Lincoln had just left Congress; the great debate to which we are now to listen, was, in reality, but the conclusion of the controversy he had heard while a Representative from the Seventh District of Illinois. His mind was in Washington rather than in Springfield, and engrossed in politics rather than the law. He took the *Congressional Globe* and the *National Intelligencer*, the great Whig organ; and the speeches of outstanding members of the House and Senate were also printed in the Springfield and Chicago papers. The words and deeds of those who engaged in the historic discussion of 1850 were to be woven into the strange and variegated fabric of Lincoln's destiny.

No sooner did Congress assemble than the first explosion came. For seventeen days the House could not elect a speaker. Southern members were determined that bills should not pass

[1] *Washington Union*, Dec. 1, 1849.

abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia or excluding it from the Territories. Richard Kidder Meade of Virginia declared that 'if these outrages are to be committed upon my people, I trust in God, sir, that my eyes have rested upon the last Speaker of the House of Representatives.' [1] Meade said that while Northern and Southern men 'of our race' were equally brave, there was a 'difference between men contending for their firesides, and the robbers who are seeking to despoil them of their rights, and degrade them before the world.'

William Duer of New York called Meade a 'disunionist.'

'It is false,' cried Meade.

'You are a liar, sir,' snapped Duer.

'Quick as thought,' records the official reporter, 'Mr. Meade made a rush towards Mr. Duer.' Friends surrounded each man. 'Indescribable confusion followed. . . . The House was like a heaving billow.' The Sergeant-at-Arms carried the mace on high among the enraged Representatives. Order was finally restored.[2]

Meade challenged Duer, and friends, 'with some difficulty,' prevented a duel.[3]

But the lurid incident had uncapped the volcano. Amid repeated applause, Toombs, 'his black, uncombed hair standing out from his massive head, as if charged with electricity, his eyes glowing like coals of fire, and his sentences rattling forth like volleys of musketry,' as a newspaper correspondent described him,[4] furiously assailed those who urged the objectionable legislation. If it should pass, thundered Toombs, '*I am for disunion;* and . . . I will devote all I am and all I have on earth to its consummation.' [5]

As we have seen, Toombs was one of Lincoln's friends and associates in the preceding Congress and both were Whigs. A much closer friend of Lincoln, his former colleague, Edward Dickinson Baker, for whom his second son was named, now Representative from the Galena district of Illinois, instantly replied, also amid applause, to the furious member from Georgia. He did not believe, the North did not believe, that

[1] *Cong. Globe,* 31st Cong. 1st Sess., xxi, Pt. 1, 26 (Dec. 13, 1849). [2] *Ib.,* 27.
[3] *Reminiscences:* Poore, 1, 361–2. [4] *Ib.,* 360.
[5] *Cong. Globe,* 31st Cong. 1st Sess., xxi, Pt. 1, 27–8. Italics Toombs'.

Southern members were in earnest, he said; did not believe 'that here, in this Hall, there is one man who chambers in his secret heart a purpose so accursed.'

'We will teach you that we are in earnest,' shouted Daniel Wallace of South Carolina.

How? Baker demanded.

'I spoke in the name of the people of the South, . . . they will have their rights in spite of the North,' answered Wallace.

'Sir,' said Baker, 'we do not believe the Union *can ever be dissolved.*' Southern members could not mean what they said. 'A dissolution of this Union is, must be, shall be, impossible, as long as an American heart beats in an American bosom.'

Baker's defiance brought to his feet a man whom, as has appeared, Lincoln liked and admired above all others in the House. 'Sir,' said Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, 'every word uttered by my colleague [Toombs] meets my hearty response. . . . I tell you . . . before that God, who rules the universe, I would rather that the southern country should perish . . . than submit for one instant to degradation. . . . Whether the people of the North believe it or not, . . . the day in which aggression is consummated, . . . this Union is dissolved. . . . Be not deceived.' [1]

Still Northern members were not convinced; many regarded such expressions as mere froth of heated temper. William Ferguson Colcock of South Carolina undertook to convince them. He was quite placid, he said, when he declared that if the obnoxious bills should be enacted, he then and there pledged himself to 'introduce a resolution in this House declaring in terms, *that this Union ought to be dissolved.*' [2]

Northern radicals were scarcely less extravagant than those of the South. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who was to be so powerful and intolerant a factor in Congress during and after Lincoln's administration, assailed Southern members with characteristic ferocity. Their threats were 'contemptible gasconade,' he said. The Southern 'conspiracy' to dissolve the government by refusing appropriations unless Southern de-

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 28. Italics Baker's.

[2] *Ib.*, 29. Italics Colcock's.

mands were granted, was 'treason, rank treason against the nation!' The South boasted of its gallantry in war — that section *had* furnished officers, Presidents, ambassadors; and 'has consented that the younger sons of her dilapidated houses should monopolize the places of clerks and messengers to the Government. But whence are drawn the common soldiers,' who did the fighting and won the battles? 'Almost entirely from the free States,' said Stevens. He made a sound and able argument against slavery, but he managed to insert fiery and insulting words.[1]

An experienced Washington newspaper correspondent truthfully reported the situation: 'The excitement . . . is here at an extravagant pitch. It is not confined to Southern men, though it was from them that its first manifestation appeared. The Northern blood has now become heated.' [2] Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire presented a petition from Pennsylvania and Delaware 'praying for the immediate and peaceful dissolution of the Union.' [3] Other papers of the same kind were signed by negroes and whites in Pennsylvania.[4] In Massachusetts large numbers of secession petitions were circulated by the Abolitionists,[5] and Wendell Phillips wrote frankly: 'We are Disunionists.' [6] These ardent persons resorted to verse to express the reasons for their demand:

'This is our defense.
Though we break our father's promise, we have nobler duties first;
The traitor to humanity is the traitor most accursed!
Man is more than Constitution — better rot beneath the sod
Than be true to Church and State while we are doubly false to God.' [7]

---

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 141–3. Feb. 20, 1850.

[2] *New Orleans Picayune*, March 11, 1850.

[3] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 319. This petition led to a spirited debate, lasting for the most of two days. Douglas started it by sharply objecting to receiving it.

'Sir, is this Senate under obligations to receive with respect . . . propositions to dissolve the American Union? . . . We have no power . . . to grant the prayer, . . . if we had the power, it is moral treason to give countenance and encouragement to the prayer of such a petition.'

[4] *Pennsylvanian*, clipped in *Liberator*, March 1, 1850.

[5] *Ib.*, Feb. 22, 1850; *Boston Journal*, clipped in *Alexandria Gazette*, March 13, 1850. The *Liberator* declared with approval that this had been going on for 'several years.'

[6] *Liberator*, March 22, 1850. [7] *Ib.*, Feb. 22, 1850.

So inflamed were Representatives and Senators, so perilous the condition, that President Taylor thought it necessary to inform Congress and the country of the attitude of the administration. 'As to the Constitution and the Union,' he said at Fredericksburg, Virginia, 'I have taken an oath to support the one and I cannot do so without preserving the other. . . . We must cherish the Constitution to the last . . . in all time, preserve the Union at all hazards.' [1]

Taylor might as well not have spoken. Nobody paid the slightest attention to what he said. In eleven years we shall hear Lincoln make the same appeal, using some of Taylor's words, and with as little effect. At the time Lincoln's newspaper mouthpiece at Springfield enthusiastically praised the President's statement.[2]

At the present day, the extreme peril of the situation can only be realized by a study of the speeches of the more moderate of Southern members. Because of his character and political affiliations, that of Henry Washington Hilliard of Alabama is strikingly illustrative.[3] Charles Allen of Massachusetts had scoffed at his Southern associates as having spoken in passion and as not really meaning what they said about impending dissolution of the Union. Allen has never faced 'a calmer man' than he was, the Representative from Alabama said in reply, when he told the House '*that the Union of these States is in great peril.*' The North was utterly oblivious of Southern 'feeling and purpose . . . in regard to the threatened encroachments on their rights. I have never known throughout the entire southern country so settled and deep a feeling. . . . I solemnly declare — speaking from a thorough acquaintance with that people, a people among whom I was born and brought up — that

[1] *New Orleans Picayune*, March 11, 1850. [2] *Illinois Journal*, March 1, 1850.

[3] Hilliard had been a professor in the University of Alabama, a lay Methodist preacher, a Chargé d'Affaires in Belgium, and a regent of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. He was an important member of the Whig Party, and made his campaign for Congress as a 'Unionist,' assuring his constituents that Congress would not pass measures unfriendly to the South. Perhaps no man better understood Southern sentiment than he.

In 1860 Hilliard supported the 'Union Ticket,' Bell and Everett, as the only method of preserving the Union peaceably. Like Stephens, he strenuously opposed secession, but when Alabama withdrew from the Union, Hilliard went with his State, raised several thousand men and became a Brigadier General in the Confederate Army.

if this legislation is to be persisted in, THIS UNION CANNOT STAND.' [1]

Such were the views, not of Southern fire-eaters, but of steady Union men of the South at the beginning of the Thirty-first Congress. The expressions of Southern extremists, while made in high excitement and fiery language, were no more alarming than those of their quiet but equally determined associates. Lincoln knew these men well and some of them were his fellow partisans.

Conservative papers, North and South, vainly strove to reassure the people. The *New York Courier and Enquirer* alleged that a 'decided majority' in the North, as shown by the press of that section, was moderate and supporters of the Constitution with all its guaranties; the 'noisy but few abolitionists . . . as contemptible in numbers, as they are criminal in their designs,' would amount to nothing if 'Southern alarmists' did not magnify their importance; only 'insane fanatics' were for disunion. Yet in the South, said the New York paper, the press was 'violent, speeches . . . inflammatory, the masses . . . excited.' [2]

Lincoln's organ in Springfield stated that it had long believed that certain Southern politicians were 'determined, if possible, to bring about a dissolution of the Union.' [3] The West was for the Union, cried the *Alton Telegraph*, and would not tolerate secession.[4] Such admonitions were, for the moment, without effect; rather, the conflagration spread, and was to continue to grow until it should be checked and subdued by the wisdom and daring of the ablest statesman of the time, sustained by the great body of the Nation.

In the Senate, a wicked tongue of flame licked forth soon after the holiday adjournment. The venerable Senator William Upham of Vermont had presented strong resolutions against slavery passed by the Legislature of that State, and, on January

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 33–4. Italics and capitals Hilliard's.

[2] *New York Courier and Enquirer*, clipped in *Alexandria Gazette*, Jan. 12, 1850. The *Courier* named Louisiana, North Carolina, Missouri, and Kentucky as 'honorable exceptions' to disunion tendency of Southern States.

[3] *Illinois Journal*, Feb. 6, 1850.

[4] *Alton* (Ill.) *Telegraph*, Feb. 1, 15, 1850.

10, Senator Jeremiah Clemens of Alabama [1] made them the text for a frank speech. Societies in the North were slandering Southern character by 'foulest libels,' said Clemens, and making 'the most terrible appeals to all the worst passions of the slave;' advocating murder, arson, and 'the violation of our wives and daughters;' hiring lecturers to 'inflame' the Northern mind against the Southern people. 'We do not intend to stand still and have our throats cut.' Unless the Constitution was respected and 'its promises held sacred,' the Union could not endure. Perhaps it was too late even now — perhaps the Union was 'already at an end.' Certainly the 'most weak and timid man' in Alabama 'would scorn your alliance, and shatter your Confederacy,' if Northern assaults were continued. Senator Clemens declared that he had come to his conclusions slowly and with bitterness, for in boyhood he had 'looked upon the Union as a holy thing, and worshipped it;' and in manhood he had 'gone through that in its defence which would have shriveled thousands of the wretched silk-worms who, in peaceful times, earn a cheap reputation for patriotism by professing unbounded love for the Union.' [2]

Such was the desperate and ever more alarming situation as the lowering winter of 1849–50 wore on. Except in armed warfare, no men ever faced a predicament more deadly than that which Clay and Webster then confronted. All the genius, all the skill, all the courage, all the reputation and influence of these two statesmen were required to still that tempest and save the American Nation from shipwreck. From his earliest manhood, Lincoln had looked upon them as the preëminent men of the Republic in their time, had followed their leadership, adopted their political and economic philosophy and was now ready to accept — and, as we shall see, did accept — their solution of the vexed and terrible problem.

[1] Clemens had been elected as a 'moderate,' but in this session developed into a radical. He was a college man, an accomplished lawyer and held many offices. Clemens fought for Texas in her war for independence and, in the Mexican War, was promoted for gallantry. He opposed the secession of Alabama, but yielded to popular demand and went with his State. In 1864 he advocated the reëlection of Lincoln and defended his policy.

[2] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 52–4.

On January 29, 1850, Clay rose in his place and offered his famous compromise, designed to preserve 'the peace, concord, and harmony of the union' by settling the controversy between the States, 'arising out of the institution of slavery.' Clay's resolutions proposed the admission of California as a free State; territorial government for the remainder of the Mexican acquisitions without reference to slavery; settlement of the boundary between Texas and New Mexico; abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but continuance of slavery there as long as Maryland insisted upon it; the enactment of a strong fugitive slave law in place of the Act of 1793, which was no longer effective; and the assertion that Congress had no power to interfere with the slave trade in the slave-holding States.[1]

A week later,[2] the venerable Kentuckian took the floor in support of his proposals. The Senate Chamber was crowded and the corridors were so thronged that the Vice-President ordered all doors closed and the anterooms cleared.[3] Clay was in his seventy-third year and showed his age. His cheeks were sunken, nose pinched, head bald on top, and a fringe of long, gray hair fell upon his shoulders. He was dressed in solid black, and from a high black satin stock emerged a 'huge white shirt-collar, which reached to his ears.' [4]

Clay made no effort to conceal his profound emotion, and began with a prayer that God would avert disaster — never had he spoken to 'any assembly so oppressed, so appalled, so anxious,' he solemnly avowed. The cause of the crisis which had arisen was the catering of the regular political organizations in the North to 'a small party called Abolitionists' in order to carry elections, Clay bitterly asserted.

Why not adjust differences by recognizing facts? he asked. California had excluded slavery by the unanimous vote of her Constitutional Convention, many of whom were men of Southern birth, and it was unlikely that slavery ever would go to New Mexico because of its mountains and barren soil. Ignorance of that fact had produced the foolish Wilmot proviso, said

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 244–6; XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 115.
[2] February 5, 1850.
[3] *Cong. Globe*, XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 115. [4] Poore, I, 363.

Clay; the North had got what was 'worth a thousand Wilmot provisos.'

The aged Senator did not speak long on the first day, and during his exposition he made reference more than once to his years and weakness. On the second day he began by paying tribute to the 'vast assemblage of beauty, grace, elegance, and intelligence' which had again come to hear him. Congress had power to exclude slavery from the District of Columbia, he said; but it would be bad faith to exercise it, because Maryland never thought that slavery would be abolished in the District, when she ceded it to the United States as a place for the National Capital.[1]

But the slave trade ought to be forbidden in the District, Clay insisted; the daily sight of '*cortèges* which pass along our avenues of manacled human beings,' horrified and enraged many who otherwise would not be interested. How senseless! Stop it, and 'we shall have peace for thirty years.' To do so would be nothing new. Kentucky, Mississippi, and other slave States already prohibited importation of slaves for sale.

A stronger fugitive slave law must be passed. On that question, asserted Clay, the South had 'just and serious cause of complaint against the free States.' The fugitive slave provision in the National Constitution bound Congress, States, State officials, and 'every *man* in the Union.' Yet many Northern States had enacted laws against the capture and return of fugitive slaves.

Congress had no power to interfere with the slave trade between slave States. The South contended that Congress could not legislate at all on slavery, but that position was neither sound nor wise. Yet on that point, Clay exclaimed, 'this Union is threatened with subversion' — this Union, under which and because of which, the American people had achieved a growth and prosperity unexampled in the annals of mankind.

Disunion would not secure to the South a single demand she made — the admission of slavery to the territories, the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, the return of

[1] Virginia had also ceded part of the District, but that portion had been receded to her; therefore, Clay asserted, Virginia was no longer concerned.

runaway slaves. There would be hundreds and thousands of these fugitives where there now was one, if the South withdrew from the Union, asserted Clay.

No State, no section had a right to secede. If secession should be attempted, war would be inevitable — war and disunion were 'identical and inseparable.' And such a war! 'Furious, bloody, implacable, exterminating,' and decisive of the fate of free government itself. Even if the States should agree to dissolve the Union and form a separate government, the sections would be at war within sixty days — 'in less than sixty days.'

'Mr. President, I am directly opposed to any purpose of secession. . . . The Constitution . . . was made, not merely for the generation which then existed, but for posterity, undefined, unlimited, permanent and perpetual . . . and for every subsequent State which might come into the Union, binding themselves by that indissoluble bond.' [1]

Clay's proposals divided the South. The more radical of the people of that section opposed them, the moderate who wished for an adjustment accepted them with reluctance and misgiving. The South did not agree with the great statesman, said the *Alexandria Gazette*, but hoped that he had laid the foundation for an honorable compromise.[2] And we shall see this sentiment slowly spreading throughout the South as the contest in Washington proceeds. The *Illinois Journal* applauded Clay's speech and denounced the 'treason' of the South.[3]

In the management of his compromise proposals, Clay often found it necessary to take the floor, to explain this item and that, to soothe irritations, to repel attacks. Whenever the public thought that he might speak, great crowds went to the Capitol to hear him. Women, especially, thronged the Senate Chamber, filled the galleries, jostled in the corridors. 'The ladies are, *to a man*, the enemies of disunion,' wrote a Washington correspondent of a northern journal, copied into a conservative paper in Virginia.[4] Once when Clay rose to speak, he

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 115–27.

[2] *Alexandria Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1850.

[3] *Illinois Journal*, Feb. 12, 1850.

[4] The Washington correspondent of the *Boston Courier*, clipped in *Alexandria Gazette*, March 9, 1850. Italics in the *Gazette*.

found himself 'imbedded in a nest of the fair sex,' who were so numerous that 'no Senator could get across the Chamber without thrusting his head under a bonnet.' [1]

As the stormy weeks passed, Clay's horror of secession grew ever stronger in expression, his love of the Union ever more ardent. The people of any territory applying for statehood 'had a right to decide whether they would admit or exclude slavery,' he asserted. It was because he had profoundly deliberated upon the situation and carefully measured consequences not only to the whole country, but 'affecting all mankind . . . the existence of self-government . . . the preservation of liberty itself' — it was because of his mature consideration of these results that he had resolved to put forth all his remaining strength 'to avert the greatest of all human calamities, not only that could befall this country, but that could befall the whole race of civilized man.' [2]

Taunted by Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi [3] for voting against the South, although himself a Senator from a slave State, Clay retorted with wrathful but majestic eloquence. 'Sir, I know no South, no North, no East, no West to which I owe any allegiance. I owe allegiance to two sovereignties, and only two: one is to the sovereignty of this Union, and the other is to the sovereignty of the State of Kentucky. My allegiance is to this Union and to my State; but if gentlemen suppose they can exact from me an acknowledgment of allegiance to any ideal or future contemplated confederacy of the South, I here declare that I owe no allegiance to it.' [4]

The new South now spoke through one of its younger men in the Senate. He was not yet a disunionist, but fairly reflected the growing opinion throughout the South, that unless all Southern rights were strictly observed, withdrawal from the Union would become inevitable. On February 13, one week

[1] The Washington correspondent of the *Boston Courier*, Feb. 8, 1850.

[2] *Works*, IX, 403, 405–6.

[3] Foote had been elected to the Senate as a 'Unionist' in 1847. In 1850 he was considered a 'moderate,' because he wished to adjust differences between the sections. He disagreed sharply with Jefferson Davis as to the nature and extent of secession sentiment in Mississippi. When the Confederacy was established, however, he went with his State and was elected to the Confederate Congress.

[4] *Works*, IX, 397–8.

after Clay began his first compromise speech, the galleries were again packed with expectant crowds, the corridors again filled, and seats in the Senate Chamber were yielded to groups of eager women.[1] When order was restored, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi rose in his place to state the views of the less extreme of the Southern radicals.

He was in his forty-third year, nine months older than Lincoln, and, like Lincoln, a native of Kentucky. He was slightly over six feet tall, slim, graceful, and with military erectness and bearing; for he was a graduate of West Point and for many years had been an officer in the Regular Army. His face was long and thin, his eyes large and gray-blue, hair black, forehead high and intellectual. His hands were noticeable for their slender elegance, and his voice had a peculiar musical quality, not unlike that of Wendell Phillips. His attire, while in strict accord with fashion, was modest and unobtrusive. His manner was considerate, his bearing, while cordial, was dignified and grave. Although not by birth a member of the dominant social caste of the South, he was to become its mouthpiece and leader. As yet, however, his reputation in Washington was 'purely of a military character.' [2]

The South asserted its right to an equality of enjoyment in the territories. National parties were dissolving, had already ceased to function, Davis said, and designing Northern politicians made use of that 'factious, disorganizing, revolutionary spirit,' called abolitionism, in their attempt to erect sectional parties upon the ruins of political organizations which were truly national. 'Considering it, as I do,' said Davis, 'the cold, calculating purpose of those who seek for sectional dominion, I see nothing short of conquest on the one side, or submission on the other.'

It was sectional divisions, Davis continued, which weaken the bonds of the Union. What had caused these divisions? Why had the South been estranged, embittered? Northern slander of

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 356. Feb. 13, 1850.

[2] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, May 19, in issue of June 9, 1850. This conservative and Unionist Southern paper was unfriendly to Davis, and declared that he 'has not yet given the first token of a statesman.' The *Picayune* classed him among the half dozen 'Hotspurs of the South.'

Southern character 'and the character of our fathers;' Northern 'attempts to degrade us in the eyes of Christendom;' Northern assaults upon the Southern people; Northern organizations formed for the express purpose of hostility to the South; the denial by Northern States of the Constitutional rights of the South; this very agitation in Congress — these, according to Davis, were the sources of Southern resentment and alarm.

The South looked forward to the day 'when the power to remodel the Constitution, being possessed, will be exercised,' by the North, and slavery abolished. Men might talk as they pleased, and for political effect, but just that was what the North intended to do and would do in the end. So the South must meet the issue now, solemnly announced the future Confederate President. Otherwise the Southern people would become '*an inferior class, a degraded caste in the Union.*' [1]

The Federal Government was but the agent of all the States; ought any of them to support that agent when it proposed to destroy what its duty was to protect? State obligation ceased when National instead of Federal power was assumed by the General Government. 'State allegiance thenceforward resumes its right to demand the service, the whole service, of all its citizens.'

Neither section should have the power to trample on the rights of the other. A balance of power was the vital principle of the Constitution. The ideal situation would be the control by the North of one House of Congress, and by the South of the other. Davis expected no good to come from 'compromise' legislation; even the proposed Fugitive Slave Law would avail nothing. No act of Congress could be enforced in any State if public opinion was against it.

Citizens of the South had a Constitutional right to take their slaves to the 'common' territories, which belonged to the States in common, and Congress could not destroy that right. The Missouri Compromise had 'derived its validity from the acquiescence of the States, and not from the act of Congress.' The Federal Government had no more to do with slave property

[1] Italics author's. Practically all Southern speakers and writers made mention of this root of Southern fear and complaint.

than with any other species of property. Moreover it was axiomatic that 'all property is best managed where Governments least interfere.'

Why was every abolition assault on the Union ignored, and every Southern movement condemned, inquired Davis? Southern conventions asked only the observance of the Constitution. That was but the expression of the spirit of our race — the spirit that produced the Revolution, the spirit that secured Magna Charta. 'That spirit has come down to us. . . . We will not permit aggressions. We will defend our rights; and if it be necessary, we will claim from this Government, as the barons of England claimed from John, the grant of another *magna charta* for our protection.' That was the spirit of the South! Did history show that it could be flouted and outraged?

What grievance had the North? Davis asked. Against her own immediate interests the South joined the North in the Revolution; the South resented British impressment of Northern sailors and drew the sword in their defence; the South furnished the cargoes for Northern shipping, supplied the staple for Northern factories, bought Northern-made fabrics at market prices, plus a heavy tariff. What, then, was the cause of Northern hostility to the South? 'The fact that the South held the African race in bondage, being the descendants of those who were mainly purchased from the people of the North. And this was the great cause.' This was the reason that the North would stop the growth of the South and draw around her 'a sanitary cordon to prevent the extension of a moral leprosy.' Must the South submit? No! 'If for that it shall be written the South resisted, it would be but in keeping with every page she has added to the history of our country.'

Who wanted the foreign slave trade restored? Certainly, the South did not, declared Davis. New England had secured the prolongation of that commerce for her profit, he said; and not until after that foreign trade had been abolished, was there 'declamation' in that section against slavery — an outcry by those who had grown 'rich in the traffic.' So far as Southern interests were concerned, abolition of the slave trade was 'a sound, wise policy,' and nobody was willing to revive it. Still,

humanly speaking, that trade had been a blessing to the negroes who by it had been brought from abject slavery and a barbarian master, and sold into a Christian land.

Only through American bondage had the negro 'ever entered the temple of civilization,' said Davis. Think of his condition in Africa! However, the African slave trade was a thing of the past and was as odious among us now, as it was with our ancestors. 'We only defend the domestic institution of slavery as it exists in the United States; the extension of which into any new Territory will not increase the number of the slaves by one single person.'

Who had sown 'the seeds of disunion,' promoted faction, prevented the formation of territorial governments? Who was responsible for the existing situation? 'It is not the South! it is not the South,' cried Davis. 'Every charge of disunion which is made on that part of the South which I in part represent, . . . I here pronounce to be grossly calumnious.' Northern newspapers, which were the chief contrivers of sectionalism, had branded Southern Representatives as 'disunionists;' they had so denounced Davis himself. How unwarranted! How outrageous!

'The son of a revolutionary soldier, attachment to this Union was among the first lessons of my childhood; bred to the service of my country, from boyhood to mature age I wore its uniform. Through the brightest portion of my life, I was accustomed to see our flag, historic emblem of the Union, rise with the rising and fall with the setting sun. I look upon it now with the affection of early love, and seek to maintain and preserve it by a strict adherence to the Constitution, . . . by the nurture of which its stars have come so much to outnumber its original stripes. . . . Shall we of the South, who have shared equally with you all your toils, all your dangers, all your adversities, and who equally rejoice in your prosperity, and your fame — shall we be denied those benefits guarantied by our compact, or gathered as the common fruits of a common country? If so, self-respect requires that we should assert them; and, as best we may, maintain that which we could not surrender without losing your respect as well as our own.' [1]

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 149–57.

So spoke the new and aggressive South. Soon the voice of the old South was heard, a harsher, more determined voice, and one which even ardent Southern men dreaded to hear.[1] On March 4, a frail, old man entered the Senate Chamber, supported by two colleagues and attended by his negro servant. He was wrapped in flannels and was so ill that he could not stand alone. He sank into his seat, his great head bending forward, his thin hands grasping the arms of his chair. A heavy mane of long, thick, gray hair swept back from his forehead and hung in a mass about his neck. Death was stamped on the rugged face of John C. Calhoun; but his steady dark eyes were still resolute, still defiant, still full of fire.[2] Too weak to speak, he had written his address and in a feeble voice asked Senator James Murray Mason [3] of Virginia to read it to the Senate.[4] Mason was then Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and reported the Fugitive Slave Bill which finally became the law.

From the very beginning of the abolition assault, said Calhoun, he had foreseen that, unless stopped, it would end in disunion; and he had striven to induce the two great political parties 'to adopt some measure to prevent so great a disaster.' But he had failed; and now all realized that the Union was in danger. How could it be preserved? That was the question — 'the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration.'

What had imperilled the Union? The almost universal dis-

[1] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, Feb. 19, in issue of March 4, 1850. 'Some of the Southern men, who are most strenuous in support of the rights of the South, would greatly prefer that Mr. Calhoun would be silent. They say that the belief that Mr. Calhoun promotes the Southern movement for political ends is an obstruction to the movement in the South.'

[2] Poore, I, 365–6. Calhoun had been confined to his room during most of the session by a racking cough. Washington Correspondence, Feb. 26, *New Orleans Picayune*, in issue March 11, 1850.

[3] Senator Mason, a grandson of George Mason, author of the Virginia Bill of Rights, was one of the eminent men of Virginia and for ten years before the war was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

When Virginia seceded, he went with his State, resigned from the Senate, but three months afterward was formally expelled for treason. This was the same Mason who, with John Slidell of Louisiana, was taken from the British steamer, *Trent*, on the high seas, an act which gravely embarrassed Lincoln's administration.

[4] *Washington Union*, March 6, 1850. Also *Jefferson Davis, a Memoir:* By his Wife, I, 457–8.

content of the Southern people, he answered. What had caused that feeling? Politicians had not stirred it up; on the contrary 'all the great political influences' in the South had tried to suppress excitement and had done their best to 'keep the people quiet.' The South, like the remainder of the country, had been divided 'into Whigs and Democrats,' and both parties had striven to preserve popular tranquillity throughout the anti-slavery storm. Southern irritation was spontaneous, elemental. What had produced it?

Many forces had wrought the present state of mind all over the South, but the immediate cause of it was the destruction of the equilibrium between the sections that had existed when the Constitution was adopted. Already the North outweighed the South, both in popular majority and majority of States, and this Northern preponderance was rapidly increasing.

This was not due to natural causes, but to the legislation of the Federal Government, 'which was appointed as the common agent of all, and charged with the protection of the interests and security of all.' The South had been excluded from 'common territory belonging to all the States, as the members of the Federal Union;' the South had been unjustly burdened by tariff legislation; worst of all, the very character of the Federal Government had been revolutionized by absorbing power that did not belong to it. First, it claimed the right to decide for itself the power which it could exercise, and now it insisted that it could resort to force to maintain whatever power it claims.

In short, the general government had been changed 'from a Federal Republic . . . into a great national consolidated Democracy . . . as absolute as that of the Autocrat in Russia, and as despotic in its tendency as any absolute Government that ever existed.' The rights of the States were swept away, and a single section controlled the consolidated machine which had destroyed those rights. Of course that section would favor itself where its interests conflicted with the interests of the other section.

The South could endure this in ordinary matters; but a question vital to the South existed, concerning which 'the views and

feelings of the two sections are as opposite and hostile as they can possibly be.'

That question, Calhoun insisted, was basic — 'the relation between the two races' in the South, 'which constitutes a vital portion of her social organization.' Its destruction would be the greatest 'calamity' to both white and black, and reduce the South 'to poverty, desolation, and wretchedness.' So the South must defend slavery. Yet one part of the North branded that Southern institution as a sin; another called it a crime; a third denounced it as 'a blot and a stain' on our national character — and all, in different ways, proposed the annihilation of it.

Calhoun then gave a history of the abolition crusade, its dominance of both political parties in the North, its successful demand for State laws 'which in effect abrogated the provision of the Constitution that provides for the delivery up of fugitive slaves,' its insistence that slavery should be abolished in all places where Congress had exclusive power of legislation; and finally, the movement which had come to a head in Congress to exclude the Southern States from all territories acquired, and to admit none but free States into the Union.

This speedy progress of abolitionism showed that unless 'something decisive' was done, the black race in the South would presently be emancipated. So the South would 'be forced to choose between abolition and secession.' Indeed, the Union could be dissolved without secession. Agitation could do that fell work, not by a single blow to be sure, since 'the cords which bind these States together in one common Union are far too numerous and powerful for that.' Although it would take a long time to break them all, those cords could be 'snapped,' one after the other, 'until the whole fabric falls asunder.' Already some of the most important had been severed and the others weakened. The slavery agitation had wrought that mischief. Calhoun laid much emphasis on the 'cords' which bound the Union, an idea and expression which a decade later Lincoln was to employ to preserve it.

The strongest spiritual bond of unity had been the national solidarity of the churches. The organization of Protestant denominations was upon the same principle as that of our political

institutions; and they were national in extent. The 'ties which held each denomination together formed a strong cord to hold the whole Union together.' Yet the slavery conflict had 'snapped' even that powerful cord — two sections of the Methodist Church instead of one, the same split in the Baptist Church, the Presbyterian Church dividing. Of all Protestant denominations, only the Episcopal Church remained intact.

The great political parties, too, which, in some form, had existed since the foundation of the Government, had covered the whole country, and helped mightily to hold the Union together — that cord was now parting. Soon every remaining bond would be sundered by the 'explosive tendency' of the slavery agitation. Where, then, would be the Union? 'But surely that can, with no propriety of language, be called a Union,' when the weaker is held to the stronger by '*force*.' That would be more like subjugation than Union.

How could a real, a genuine Union be saved? Only by removing the cause of Southern discontent. Eulogies on the Union could not save it. Nor could invocation on the name of Washington, 'that illustrious Southerner, whose mortal remains repose on the western bank of the Potomac. He was one of us — a slaveholder and a planter.' Washington's fame was due to 'repelling wrong,' not to submission to insult and aggression. 'I trust that, in this respect, we have profited by his example,' cried Mason from Calhoun's manuscript.

'The South asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer but the Constitution.' Let the North concede to the South an equal right in acquired territory, faithfully fulfil the Constitutional stipulation concerning fugitive slaves, 'cease the agitation of the slave question' — let the North discharge these duties and agree to one thing more and the Union would be saved. That additional requisite was Northern concurrence in a Constitutional amendment restoring and preserving the original equilibrium between the sections.

If Representatives of the North 'can not agree to settle the questions at issue on the broad principle of justice and duty, say so; and let the States we both represent agree to separate and

part in peace.' If the North would not permit amicable separation, 'tell us so, and we shall know what to do' when the question was reduced to 'submission or resistance.' [1]

This was too much for Southern Senators who hoped for adjustment. Next morning, Foote repudiated Calhoun's demand for a constitutional amendment. It had not come from the South, he said; Calhoun had not 'consulted' his colleagues. The very consideration of such a project as a constitutional amendment would cause so much delay as to 'make *disunion almost inevitable*.' The South required no such 'modification of the Federal compact;' all she asked was that that compact be observed.

'*I am for the Constitution and its guaranties*,' Foote exclaimed. 'I am for the Union, as provided for and delineated in that sacred instrument.' He was contending for the 'good old Union, the fruit of the sage counsels of our immortal ancestors.'

Calhoun was irritated. Did Foote accuse him of disunion? Did he mean to insinuate that? asked the sick and aged Southern leader.

A sharp exchange ensued: 'As things now stand, the southern States cannot with safety remain in the Union,' Calhoun insisted.

'I think she may,' responded Foote, 'without any previous amendment of the Constitution.'

'No,' said Calhoun, 'every portion of the North entertains feelings more or less hostile to the South.'

'I cannot think so,' Foote replied.[2]

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 451–5. Also *Works*, IV, 542–73. *New Orleans Picayune*, March 11, 1850.

[2] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 461–4. Italics Foote's. For newspaper account, see *Alexandria Gazette*, March 13, 1850.

The antagonism between those Southern members of Congress who were anxious for adjustment, and those who insisted on immediate secession unless every Southern demand was granted, grew so heated that personal fights were often narrowly averted, and sometimes did take place. For instance, on the street Foote denounced Senator Solon Borland of Arkansas as a 'miserable tool of Calhoun's;' Borland struck Foote and they fought until separated. *Alexandria Gazette*, March 16, 1850.

The affray between Foote and Benton in the Senate, March 26, 1850, in which, after the harshest possible exchange of personalities, Benton advanced upon Foote who drew a pistol, was over the question as to whether Douglas's bills for territorial government should have precedence of that granting statehood to California; but the temper displayed was general in both Houses during the first several weeks of the debate. See

Southern correspondents at the capital wrote that Calhoun's influence was destroyed. 'His own colleagues deserted him. . . . The South, however aggrieved, or however alarmed, does not agree with him. . . . The Senators from the South have fully discarded the idea [secession if no amendment to the Constitution]. . . . They will continue to strive for protection to their rights and will redress their grievances under and within the Constitution.' [1]

The very next day after the altercation between Foote and Calhoun, the Legislature of Mississippi adopted a resolution supporting the Southern Convention at Nashville, and providing for the election of delegates. The North, inspired by 'an unholy lust for power and the fell spirit of fanaticism,' was determined to wrest from the South her constitutional rights, Mississippi declared, and to destroy her 'peculiarly domestic relations. . . . Abolish slavery and you convert the fair and blooming fields of the South into barren heaths; their high-souled and chivalrous proprietors into abject dependants — and the *now* happy and contented slaves into squalid and degraded objects of misery and wretchedness.' Mississippi would 'stand by and sustain' her sister States in the South in any course they might adopt at Nashville.[2]

While the spirit of moderation had begun to manifest itself, however feebly, in Washington, and while Union sentiment was even then being expressed among Southern Whigs, the general current of talk at the capital and throughout the South was still for disunion, if Congress should further impair 'Southern rights.' During eight weeks of debate, charges, accusations, and defiances had been hurled by Northern and Southern members of the House and Senate; and, in spite of conciliatory counsels,

Alexandria Gazette, March 28, 1850. Southern papers, generally, condemned the affray between Foote and Benton. *New Orleans Picayune*, April 22, May 6, 1850. For altercations in the House between Northern and Southern Representatives, see Poore, I, 360–2.

[1] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune* in issue of March 11, 1850. 'The Southern members have unanimously rejected it' [Calhoun's proposal of a constitutional amendment]. The National Democratic organ also condemned Calhoun's idea. *Washington Union*, March 6, 1850.

[2] Mississippi Resolutions, March 6, 1850. *State Documents on Federal Relations:* Herman V. Ames, VI, 14–18. Italics in resolution.

as the stormy winter drew to an end the prospect for any amicable adjustment was black and forbidding. 'Many men, who have long entertained hopes of compromise, begin to despair.' [1] 'To what a fatal abyss and by what frantic excesses do madmen seem bent on hurrying this nation!' exclaimed the *New Orleans Picayune* in a long and earnest editorial for the Union, entitled 'THE UNION — IT MUST BE PRESERVED.' [2]

Many days were to elapse before the declaration of Mississippi appeared in the newspapers at Washington, but it was well known that she would take the ground to which, notwithstanding occasional Whig protests, the whole South was hastening at that very time. Resolutions already passed by Georgia were typical of others adopted by Southern States. If Congress should adopt the Wilmot proviso, or admit California as a free State, or abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, or defeat an effective Fugitive Slave Law; or if 'the non-slaveholding States' continued to refuse to surrender runaway slaves, Georgia must 'immediately' take measures for redress.[3] Massachusetts and other Northern States had made exactly opposite demands, and anti-slavery and anti-Southern resolutions were before other Northern legislatures then in session and seething with excitement.[4]

The state of public feeling after Congress had been in session for some months was stated at the time by the editor of Taylor's administration organ, the *Washington Republic*. 'It is scarcely necessary to do more,' he wrote, 'than allude to the excitement which has made the country a spectacle of wonder to many of those even who contributed to its fury. It invaded every avenue

[1] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, Feb. 19, in issue of March 4, 1850.

[2] Yet the *Picayune* was staunchly Southern. 'What the South asks for is to be let alone;' but in spite of the Constitution and in spite of the preference of the people of the Pacific Coast and other Mexican acquisitions, in disregard of their own arguments, Northern men continued to act toward the South in a manner 'intolerably offensive and insulting.' Still, there must be no attempt to dissolve the Union; if there was, 'all good men and patriots will rally, without distinction of class or party, and with enthusiastic promptness to the support of the President,' who had 'announced . . . his resolution to employ all the means in his power to preserve the Union against violence.'

[3] Georgia Resolutions, Feb. 8, 1850. Ames, VI, 19–21.

[4] For a list of Northern and Southern resolutions, with typical examples, see Ames, 253–63.

of life, reached every bosom, and penetrated every sanctuary. The common vocations of men were affected by it; the closest friendships were threatened by it; it alarmed some, enraged others, but startled all. . . . The saloon, the vestry, the tea-table, the thoroughfare, were alike occupied by debating clubs, busy with the universal theme. . . . The halls of either House exhibited a continuous scene of confusion and passionate contention. The galleries and lobbies were daily thronged with anxious multitudes.' [1] For several weeks the opinion of Washington correspondents of Unionist papers had been that no adjustment was possible.

Such was the situation when on March 7, 1850, Webster made his appeal for the Union. 'All hopes rest on Mr. Webster,' wrote an uncommonly careful and well-posted Washington correspondent.[2] Early in the morning the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate went to the house of the sick, old statesman and told him that the Senate Chamber was already crowded. When Senators arrived, they found that, for hours, their seats had been occupied by women, while members of the House and distinguished men from all over the country filled the aisles. Foreign ministers were present, alertly attentive.[3] The galleries were packed, the corridors and every approach to the Senate room densely crowded by throngs struggling to get within the sound of Webster's voice.[4] Never in our history had so many people tried to hear a speech in Congress. The multitude surpassed even that which gathered in the Capitol when Clay spoke. Foote sarcastically moved that the ladies be 'permitted' to remain in the Senatorial chairs they had taken.[5] They did remain and formed 'a brilliant array.' [6]

Webster was in his sixty-ninth year and, for some time, had been sustaining his failing strength by taking a powerful drug

[1] Editorial in the *Republic*, clipped in the *Alexandria Gazette*, March 15, 1850.

[2] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, Feb. 19, in issue of March 4, 1850.

[3] *New Orleans Picayune*, March 18, 1850.

[4] *Reminiscences of Daniel Webster:* Peter Harvey, 219–20.

[5] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 476.

[6] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, March 8, in issue of March 18, 1850.

prescribed by his physician.[1] For several weeks he had slept but four hours each night.[2] Throughout the heated debate he had uttered scarcely a word, listening in silence, his features immovable but troubled, his great dark eyes growing ever more sombre, his still but gloomy attitude ever more determined. And now the time had come for him to speak. It was to be the last of Webster's historic deliverances, and it was to end all hope, if any remained, of his political advancement. Webster knew the storm which the plea he was about to deliver would bring down upon him. 'I have my doubts that the speech I am going to make will ruin me,' he had told a colleague that morning.[3]

Breathless silence fell when Webster arose.[4] For a moment he stood, every eye focussed upon him, every ear strained to catch the first note of that composed but sonorous voice. 'Mr. President,' he began, 'I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American. . . . I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union. "Hear me for my cause."' How fortunate that there was a Senate of the United States, he said, 'a body to which the country looks with confidence, for wise, moderate, patriotic, and healing counsels.'

Webster had spoken but a short time when a tall, gaunt figure, a long black cloak gathered about him, tottered into the

[1] 'Webster was living from day to day under the influence of oxide of arsenic and other preparations prescribed by his physician.' Channing, VI, 78.

[2] 'I have had little sleep, not four hours a night, on an average for the whole six months.' Webster to Peter Harvey, Sept. 10, 1850. *Private Correspondence*, II, 385.

[3] Poore, I, 365, quoting Theodore Parker. Also Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, March 8, in issue of March 18, 1850. 'Not a single conservative speech . . . has yet been made in the House of Representatives by any Northern man, nor was Mr. Webster sure of any support there from Eastern men. It is not to be disputed that Mr. Webster . . . runs counter to the whole current of public feeling in his own region of country, to the expressed opinion of the State which he represents, and the all but unanimous sentiment of his party friends.

'The very rumor of his purpose, before it had either a shape or a voice, brought forth reproachful sneers, and threats, not muttered low, but loud and distinct, of immediate political destruction. Of this he cannot be unapprised.'

Soon after his speech was published, Webster wrote to George Ticknor: 'My poor speech is launched forth. . . . If its fate should be to go to the bottom, it has no cargo of value and only one passenger to be drowned.' Webster to Ticknor, March 17, 1850. *Private Correspondence*, II, 358–9.

[4] Webster spoke as soon as the Senate was called to order. His speech consumed more than three hours. *Washington Union*, March 8, 1850.

Chamber and was helped to his chair by a fellow Senator. John C. Calhoun had risen from his death-bed to come to the Senate and hear his ancient friend and colleague, albeit his antagonist. When he had listened to Webster's last word, he uttered with unexpected spirit a few sentences in answer, and went home to die.[1] Between Webster and Calhoun there was a mingled admiration, respect, and affection which conflict of ideas never impaired.

Soon Webster reached the subject of slavery. He conceded that it always had existed — it had prevailed among the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans. The 'Gospel of Jesus Christ' did not condemn it. So stood the record of the ages; but now two sections of the American Nation held opposite views. The Southern people had been accustomed all their lives 'to this relation between the two races,' had been taught from their birth to treat slaves 'with care and kindness' and, 'in general,' had done so. 'There are thousands of religious men, with consciences as tender as any of their brethren at the North, who do not see the unlawfulness of slavery,' said Webster. Southern supporters of the institution were 'just as conscientious' as the Northern opponents of it.

The split in the Methodist Church, 'one of the great props of religion and morals, throughout the whole country,' was deplorable. There had been no 'real ground for that separation,' Webster asserted. It had been caused by emotional persons, inflamed by religious 'convictions,' to whom everything was 'absolutely wrong, or absolutely right.' Such men were utterly intolerant of the opinions or feelings of other people. 'They deal with morals as with mathematics, and they think what is right, may be distinguished from what is wrong with the precision of an algebraic equation.'

Webster traced the history of slavery in the Constitution. At the time that ordinance of our national life was adopted, slavery was not considered to be 'inhuman and cruel,' although most public men, especially those of the South, then regarded slavery as 'a "blight," . . . a "scourge," and a "curse."' But it

[1] Calhoun died at Hill's boarding house, March 31, 1850. Clay and Webster were two of the pallbearers at his funeral. *Washington Union*, April 3, 1850.

existed and the question was how to get rid of it. The makers of the Constitution thought that slavery would expire if no more slaves were brought from Africa. So they resolved to prohibit the slave trade. When? Northern members of the Convention proposed twenty years. Many Southern members, Madison especially, declared that twenty years were too long. But the period was not shortened and the slave trade was authorized until 1808.

'The Convention meant to leave slavery, in the States, as they found it, entirely under the authority and control of the States' themselves. That was an undeniable fact of history. A change, however, had taken place North and South, in the opinions of those sections as to slavery; the North had grown warmer against it, the South warmer for it. This divergence of views was the result of interest. 'All that has happened has been natural.'

The Southern idea that slavery was a 'blessing' had grown up in the vast 'COTTON plantations,' which had so suddenly developed and rapidly extended. The roots of Southern championship of slavery were economic — 'it was the COTTON interest that gave a new desire to promote slavery, to spread it and to use its labor.' [1] Thus 'their whole interests became connected . . . with the extension of slavery.' Look at our exports. At first cotton was negligible, but soon 'the age of cotton became the golden age of our Southern brethren.' Then followed the desire to extend cotton territory, the cultivation of which required slave labor. That, said Webster, was the origin of the South's devotion to slavery.

He recounted the expansion of the United States, the effect of which had been to add to the Republic immense domains, out of which slave States had been carved. But, said he, turning to the anti-slavery radicals, 'The law of nature, of physical geography, the law of the formation of the earth' forever excluded slavery from all the territory acquired from Mexico. So why prohibit it by act of Congress? Why 're-enact the will of God?' Why needlessly taunt the South? Webster would not, he declared, put into any bill for territorial governments any

[1] Capitals Webster's.

assertion of 'superior power, exercised for no purpose but to wound the pride . . . of the citizens of the Southern States. . . . They would think it an indignity,' a wanton denial of 'equality of privilege . . . derogatory to their character and their rights.' Why antagonize needlessly?

Webster conceded that the South had a genuine grievance against the North for its conduct toward fugitive slaves. 'In that respect the South . . . is right, and the North is wrong,' he declared. The article in the Constitution which required the delivery of runaway slaves was 'as binding in honor and conscience as any other article.' Members of State legislatures took the oath to support the National Constitution. 'What right have they, in their legislative capacity, or any other capacity, to endeavor to get round this Constitution? . . . None at all; none at all.'

The Supreme Court decided [1] that it was for Congress to see that 'these fugitives' were surrendered; and Webster would therefore support 'to the fullest extent' the Fugitive Slave Bill introduced by Senator Mason of Virginia. 'I say that the South has been injured in this respect, and has a right to complain,' Webster repeated.

What has been the result of the abolition agitation? 'The bonds of the slaves were bound more firmly,' and Southern sentiment hardened. See the change in Southern opinion between the time of the emancipation debates in the Legislature of Virginia of 1832 and the present day. On the other hand, consider the anti-slavery sentiment in the North. Every extreme or untactful thing said in the South was spread broadcast in the North. For instance, the assertion so often made — and made recently in the Senate itself — that the slaves were better off than the laboring people in the North, was resented by them; and that meant the entire section. 'Why, who are the laboring people of the North? They are the whole North,' said Webster. 'Five-sixths of the whole property of the North is in the hands of the laborers of the North.'

The South had given the North other causes of resentment, and the process of mutual recrimination had gone on until feel-

[1] The Prigg case, p. 67, *supra*.

ing had become acute, even dangerous. But secession was no remedy. Webster had heard the word 'with distress and anguish' especially when uttered by those [1] famed throughout the country and the world for their 'patriotic services.' Surely the purpose of the coming Nashville Convention must be to 'adopt conciliatory counsels;' if not, a bad place had been chosen for that gathering. What! Plot 'the overthrow of this Union over the bones of Andrew Jackson!'

As Webster proceeded, wrote the editor of the *Washington Republic*, 'fears . . . for the Union melted . . . and with them dwindled the consequence . . . of those who disturb the repose of society by brandishing firebrands near the altar of the temple. . . . The pedlers in damaged humbugs were trodden down without impeding his course. . . . One could scarcely know that in upholding the Union, in speaking for his country, her banners, her glory, her history, the happiness of her people, and the safety of her generations, he strewed the wayside with the bones of small dabblers, and big ones, too, in agitation, and little fomenters of village treason.' [2]

With his peculiar and distinctive impressiveness of manner, and majesty of bearing, Webster swept on. 'Secession! Peaceable secession!' he exclaimed. 'Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle. The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffling the surface! . . . There can be no such thing as a peaceable secession. No, Sir! No, Sir! I see as plainly as I see the sun in heaven what that disruption . . . must produce; I see that it must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe, *in its two-fold character*.[3]

'Peaceable secession! Peaceable secession! . . . What would be the result? What is to remain American? . . . What am I to be? An American no longer? . . . Where is the flag of the republic to remain?' Northern States under one government

[1] Calhoun.

[2] Editorial in the *Republic*, clipped in *Alexandria Gazette*, March 15, 1850.

[3] Italics Webster's. This was a reference to the expectation of Abolitionists and other ardent anti-slavery persons, that the slaves would rise against the whites in the South, so that the Southern people would have to fight Northern armies and also face the insurrection of millions of negroes.

and Southern States under another government! A Southern Confederacy! 'I am sorry, sir, that it has ever been thought of, talked of, or dreamed of, in the wildest flights of human imagination.'

We cannot break up the Union if we would. Natural causes, social and domestic ties, bind the States together indissolubly. 'Ere long the strength of America will be in the valley of the Mississippi.' Can that river be cut 'in two,' slave States from its mouth upward and free States from its source downward, 'each forming a separate government? . . . I would rather hear of natural blasts and mildews, war, pestilence, and famine, than to hear gentlemen talk of secession. . . . No, Sir! no, Sir! There will be no secession! Gentlemen are not serious when they talk of secession.'

Webster declared that he had no opinion as to how slavery could be extinguished; but 'if any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme, to be carried on by this government upon a large scale, for the transportation of free colored people to any colony or any place in the world,' Webster vowed that he would 'incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object.' [1]

Slowly Calhoun rose and, with unforeseen strength and surprising resonance of voice, spoke briefly in reply.[2] The burden of his remarks was 'broken faith.' When Texas came into the Union, 'what man . . . doubted that the Missouri compromise line would be adopted, and that the territory would fall entirely to the South?' The Missouri Compromise 'was carried mainly by northern votes, although now disavowed' by them, he asserted, without denial then or thereafter during that long and heated debate.

A stronger Fugitive Slave Law would be useless, because it was 'impossible to execute any law of Congress, until the people of the States shall coöperate.' Let Nature determine the destiny of the newly acquired territory. 'Leave that portion of the country more natural to a non-slaveholding population, to be filled by that description of population; and leave that portion

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 269–76; *Writings*, X, 57–98.

[2] *Washington Union*, March 8, 1850.

into which slavery would naturally go, to be filled by a slave-holding population — destroying artificial lines.' Let all American citizens enter freely and on equal terms.

No man would be so happy as he, if he could believe that 'this Union, formed by our ancestors, should live forever.' In his service 'of *forty* years,' he had done nothing to weaken it, insisted Calhoun, for he had 'done full justice to all sections.' But Webster was mistaken in thinking that the Union could not be dissolved. Could 'no degree of oppression, no outrage, no broken faith, . . . produce the destruction of this Union? Why, sir, if that becomes a fixed fact, it will itself become the great instrument of producing oppression, outrage, and broken faith. No, sir! the Union can be broken. Great moral causes will break it, if they go on; and it can only be preserved by justice, good faith, and a rigid adherence to the Constitution.' [1]

As the debate went forward, Webster took the floor now and then, to advance the compromise. Again and again he drove home the point that prohibitive legislation was academic, because slavery was excluded from the territories by climate, soil, the law of nature — '*this is the foundation* of all.' [2] Webster said he would vote for a proposal that when the people of the territories should apply for statehood, they could declare for or against slavery as they pleased.

'Sir, my object is peace. My object is reconciliation. . . . I am against agitators, North and South. I am against local ideas, North and South. . . . I know no locality in America. . . . I shall pursue such a course as shall promote the good, and the harmony, and the union of the whole country. This I shall do, God willing, to the end of the chapter.' [3]

Toward the close of the debate, Webster spoke for the last time, quieting animosities, rebuking sectionalism. Whence came the spirit of strife? The South had been aroused by fear of the Wilmot proviso — but that was out of the way. In the North, abolitionism had created hostility — but that harsh spirit was

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 483–4.

[2] Italics author's. Webster made the exclusion of slavery from the territories by natural law the basis of his argument on that subject and repeated the statement frequently in his speeches during the debate.

[3] *Writings*, X, 113–7 (June 17, 1850).

losing its spell. For years, however, the abolition clamor had been continuous and terrible. 'No drum-head, in the longest day's march, was ever more incessantly beaten and smitten, than public sentiment in the North has been, every month, and day, and hour, by the din, and roll, and rub-a-dub of Abolition writers and Abolition lecturers. That it is which has created the prejudice.' [1]

Restitution of runaway slaves had been the practice among the colonies and States for two hundred years, and without complaint until the abolition crusade began. Webster exhibited a letter from Governor Berkeley of Virginia to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, written in 1644, asking the return of fugitive slaves. Why this uproar against the practice as if it were something new?

Public business had well-nigh come to a standstill because of dissensions over slavery, said Webster. 'We are hardly able to keep the government alive. All is paralysis.' The Nation had come through other and graver crises — 'can we not stand through this? . . . The question is, whether we have the true patriotism, the Americanism, necessary to carry us through such a trial.

'Sir, I shall stand by the Union, and by all who stand by it. . . . I mean to stand upon the Constitution. . . . I shall know but one country. . . . I was born an American; I will live an American; I shall die an American; . . . What are personal consequences? . . . No man can suffer too much, and no man can fall too soon, if he suffer or if he fall in defence of the liberties and Constitution of his country.'

These were the last words ever spoken by Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States. Soon thereafter he left that forum forever, and became, for the second time, Secretary of State.[2] While acting as head of the Cabinet, he died; but not, as we shall see, until he had appealed to the country, again and again, for the Constitution and the Union.

Four days after the Seventh of March Speech, William H.

[1] *Writings*, x, 165 (July 17, 1850).

[2] Appointed by President Fillmore, Webster took his oath of office July 23. Webster to his son, July 23, 1850. *Private Correspondence*, II, 379.

Seward of New York, the leading opponent of slavery who still remained within the Whig Party, took the floor. He was of medium height, had a 'noble forehead, light grey hair, penetrating eyes, pointed New English features, in which shrewdness and benevolence are blended.' His clothes were 'elegant,' his manners 'easy,' and he impressed foreign observers as a man who was 'at home in the drawing-room as well as in the Senate.' [1] Such was the appearance of the man who, on March 11, 1850, rose in the Senate to give voice to advanced Northern sentiment on the question of the hour. He saw clearly that the Whigs were going to pieces and that a new party must be formed to meet the issue that had arisen; and many, especially the newspaper correspondents, believed that the epochal speech which he delivered was designed as a rallying cry for such a political organization and as its platform.[2] Seward had 'the instinct of the future.' [3]

He was forty-nine years old when he made the historic speech which we are now briefly to review. He had been Governor of New York, was a successful lawyer and a bold, astute, and resourceful political manager. Singularly calm and suave in manner, he had endured with smiling indifference the taunts to which he had been subjected from the moment he had entered the Senate as a member of that body. As yet he was not well-liked by other Senators [4] and had no reputation in Washington for eloquence, statesmanship, or any other attractive popular quality. He was known at the capital only as a new man who represented radical Northern opinion. So when he rose to speak, the galleries were almost deserted and but few Senators were in their places. There was 'no one to approve and none to admire,' sneered the *Washington Union*.[5]

Seward read his speech from manuscript. He argued at length for the admission of California: let the Senate beware how they flouted her, for she might set up an independent government of her own. Oregon would go with her and the whole Pacific Coast be lost to the United States. Under the circumstances, Seward

[1] Pulszky, I, 173. [2] Poore, I, 362. [3] Pulszky, I, 174.

[4] Seward had been excluded from membership of any Committee of the Senate.

[5] March 19, 1850.

asserted, he would have voted to admit California even as a slave State. But to admit her only as an item of Clay's compromise was preposterous. Seward never would agree to such adjustment. What did this so-called 'compromise' amount to? — the surrender of 'some portion of human rights in one region, for liberty in another region.'

Calhoun's proposal that equilibrium between the North and South should be restored and preserved was vain and impracticable; it 'would be lost again, and lost more rapidly than it was before.' See the great flood of migration to the free States: it formed 'continuous, unbroken, streaming processions of colonists, founders of States, builders of nations,' and all of them for freedom.

How futile to enact a stronger law for the recovery of escaping slaves! It could not possibly be enforced. The fugitive slave clause of the Constitution was no more than a compact 'which rests for its execution on the States.' Yet the slave interests had 'induced' Congress to enact the existing Fugitive Slave Law (Act of 1793) and the Supreme Court had decided that Congress had exclusive power over the subject. 'We deem the principle of the law for the recapture of fugitives [as thus expounded] . . . unjust, unconstitutional, and immoral.' Seward boldly attacked the decision of the Supreme Court in the celebrated Prigg case. Patriotism refused its sanction while 'the consciences of our people condemn it.' Indeed, the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution was, itself, invalid, because it was against the law of nations and the law of nature. That wicked provision was not binding on righteous men and women. 'We cannot . . . be either true Christians or real freemen, if we impose on another a chain that we defy all human power to fasten on ourselves.' Let the South be its own policeman — the North would not be so made use of.

Seward never would agree to continue slavery in the District of Columbia, he said, but would vote to abolish it and to spend any amount of money for that purpose. 'And if I shall be asked, what I did to embellish the capital of my country, I will point to her freedmen, and say, these are the monuments of my munificence!' he modestly admitted.

Even if the Constitution recognized slavery, such recognition would be void because in violation of natural law; but, ignoring inconsistency, he declared, the Constitution did no such thing. The word slave was not in that instrument. Moreover the Constitution was not a mere agreement between States, but the fundamental law of the people of the United States — except the fugitive slave provision which was only a 'compact' among the States. The Constitution contemplated no sectional divisions — that idea was 'purely imaginary . . . a mere conceit.' The United States was not 'a joint stock association, or a copartnership,' but 'a political state, . . . whose end is government, for the security, welfare, and happiness, of all who live under its protection.'

Suppose that our vast public domain had been secured by the mutual efforts of the whole Nation and was common property of the Nation? That fact gave the Government no arbitrary power over it. The Constitution only regulated 'our stewardship' devoting the domain 'to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, and to liberty.'

And, cried Seward, his serene voice no longer calm, but vibrant with restrained emotion, '*there is a higher law than the Constitution*,[1] . . . which devotes it [the public territory] to the same noble purposes.'

There could be no disunion by means of secession; only revolution could accomplish that disaster. And 'I discover no omens of revolution.' What he did see, he said, was the breaking up of political parties because 'a moral question, transcending the too narrow creeds of parties, has arisen.'

What was the nature of the American Government? It was 'a democracy of property and persons . . . operating by means of universal suffrage.' Nature, itself, bound North and South together, indissolubly. 'The Union, then, is, not because merely that men choose that it shall be, but because some Government must exist here, and no other Government than this can.' Divided allegiance! One loyalty to a State and another loyalty to the Nation! 'I know only one country and one sover-

[1] Italics author's. This phrase became the point of attack by most lawyers and all conservatives, as well as by those who favored slavery.

eign — the United States of America and the American people.' [1]

During his Seventh of March Speech, Webster had attacked the Northern Democracy for having supported the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War 'under pledges to the slave interest.' This aroused Douglas, who now spoke for his party. Seward had also taunted the Democratic Party, but so great was Douglas's contempt for the new Senator from New York, that he ignored Seward altogether. Although only thirty-seven years of age, Douglas had now become the Democratic leader in the North and had a personal following throughout the country larger and more ardent than any other Democrat. He was recognized, moreover, as the strongest of all the younger Senators and was especially well-liked and admired by Webster and Clay. While Lincoln read every word spoken in the great debate of 1850, he studied no speech, not even that of Webster, with greater care than that of Douglas.[2]

So far from the support of Texan annexation by the Northern Democracy having been given for the benefit of the slave power, the reverse was the truth, Douglas said. His party had rejected Tyler's scheme, and, unburdened of that 'incubus,' had then annexed Texas 'upon broad national grounds, elevated far above, and totally disconnected from, the question of slavery . . . the extension of territory, of commerce, of navigation, of political power, of national security, and glory . . . without especial reference to any particular section.'

Webster interrupted Douglas with a playful remark about 'northwestern Democracy.' Douglas thanked him. 'There is a power in this nation greater than either the North or the South — a growing, increasing, swelling power, that will be able to speak the law to this nation, and to execute the law as spoken,' he thundered. 'That power is the country known as the great West — the Valley of the Mississippi, one and indi-

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 260–9; *Works of William H. Seward*, edited by George E. Baker, I, 51–93.

[2] Douglas's speech was published in three sections by the *Illinois State Register*, May 9, 16, and 23, 1850. It was also published in full in the *National Intelligencer*, as well as in the *Congressional Globe*, and extensive extracts were printed in all Chicago, St. Louis, and Louisville papers.

visible from the gulf to the great lakes. . . . There, sir, is the hope of this nation — the resting-place of the power that is not only to control, but to save, the Union.' [1]

Time and again Douglas advanced the idea of popular sovereignty. The people of a Territory when applying for statehood, could declare for or against slavery, he said. Only the application of that fundamental principle of self-government, together with the operation of the laws of nature — soil and climate — could settle the question. As we have seen, Clay and Webster had said the same thing — indeed, Webster had declared it to be 'the foundation of all.'

Douglas gave a succinct history of the Wilmot proviso. Winthrop of Massachusetts had proposed the same thing as to Oregon 'one year before Mr. Wilmot's voice was ever heard in the halls of Congress.' Then Wilmot offered it as an amendment to a bill appropriating money to enable President Polk to negotiate a treaty of peace with Mexico. So the Wilmot proviso was 'a nondescript, the like of which had never been seen, or heard of, in the political history of this country.'

Consider what that absurd, that revolutionary measure really was, said Douglas — an attempt by a majority vote in the House to control the treaty-making power which the Constitution placed exclusively in the hands of the President, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate. Worse still, the Wilmot proviso 'proposed to deprive the people of the territory, even when they should become a State, of the right of moulding and forming their domestic institutions to suit themselves, and to make them the subject of negotiation and treaty stipulation with a foreign Power.'

So the Wilmot proviso was an attempt to violate the Constitution and overthrow a fundamental principle of free government — a great statement of a great truth. Thank God, it was dead 'without the hope of resurrection,' exclaimed Douglas.

[1] For nearly two decades before Lincoln's nomination for the Presidency, the Middle West profoundly impressed all foreign travellers as well as all American politicians. Writing in 1852, Madame Pulszky said the Middle West was then the 'home of Sunday-schools, the terrestrial paradise of the oppressed German and Irish peasant, the land of independent small farmers; it is the most democratic and equal society on earth.' Pulszky, I, 122.

The purpose of designing men had been to form a third party about the Wilmot proviso; but that object had been defeated by the treaty of peace without that disturbing proposal. Yet Southern politicians still used the name in order to get the legislatures of their States to pass foolish resolutions pledging resistance if the obnoxious proviso ever should be adopted hereafter.

Douglas differed *in toto* from Calhoun's idea that 'the South was deprived of its due share of the territories.' Neither the South nor the North had any share in them. 'The territories belong to the United States as one people, one nation, and are to be disposed of for the common benefit of all.' It was no violation of 'southern rights to prohibit slavery [from the territories], nor of northern rights to leave the people to decide the question for themselves.'

The 'substance' of the Missouri Compromise, Douglas insisted, was that 'west of Missouri and Arkansas, slavery should be prohibited north of 36° 30′.' But why all this pother? Natural causes had excluded slavery more effectually than any Act of Congress could prohibit it. The Missouri Compromise had no practical bearing on slavery — 'it neither curtailed nor extended it one inch.' It had done the South no harm, the North no good; it had merely allayed, temporarily, the excitement that was alienating sections of the Union. That was all the Missouri Compromise had done — all it amounted to.

Of course citizens of any State could go to the Territories and take with them their property, subject, however, to the laws in force there. For instance, banks were property in most States, but some States and Territories excluded them; the banker could not take his bank to Minnesota, Oregon, or California, for example. Whisky was property in nearly all the States; yet it could not be taken into Oregon because prohibited by territorial law, nor into the Indian Country because national law forbade it. It was the same with slave property — the owners could take it wherever local law did not exclude it.

Thus in 1850 Douglas announced the truth that friendly legislation and local favor were indispensable to the existence of slavery in a Territory or anywhere else, and made an unanswer-

able argument for that principle. Yet eight years later Lincoln was to ask Douglas whether he favored this very principle, a question which within the last forty years has been made to appear the manifestation of superhuman foresight.

It was not the duty of free States to 'cause' the fulfilment of the fugitive slave provision of the Constitution, as Calhoun and other Southern leaders contended. The Supreme Court had decided that to be the business of Congress.[1] Defects in the existing Fugitive Slave Law should be remedied, of course. But, said Douglas, the complaint of non-enforcement of that statute had been 'greatly exaggerated.' There was little or no trouble about it in Illinois and other border States; but, he exclaimed sarcastically, the 'sufferings' of Vermont . . . and Louisiana, were 'utterly intolerable.'

Why? Because they knew little or nothing of one another and were imposed upon by 'mischievous and unprincipled' persons who led each of these States to utter the 'grossest slanders' of the other. So 'the war rages furiously between these extremes;' neither of which was really injured and each of which was ignorant of actual conditions. It was 'as impossible to get a Carolinian to comprehend and appreciate the character of the people and institutions of the North, as it is for an Abolitionist to understand the true condition of things in the South.'

Calhoun's requirement of a Constitutional Amendment to restore and preserve 'equilibrium' between North and South — an equal number of free and slave States for all time to come — 'would be a moral and physical impossibility.' From the foundation of the Government, said Douglas, 'the cause of freedom has steadily and firmly advanced, while slavery has receded in the same ratio.' All confidently expected that, in time, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and perhaps North Carolina and Tennessee, would provide for gradual emancipation and, ultimately, become entirely free.

Seventeen States would finally be made out of the national territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific, Douglas predicted, and every one of them would be free 'whether Congress shall prohibit slavery or not.' Where could the South find slave

[1] The Prigg Case.

States to balance that accretion to the forces of liberty? How idle, then, to talk of a division of territory between slave States and free!

The truth was, Douglas insisted, that slavery could not possibly exist in any territory whatever that had been acquired from Mexico. So the whole controversy over slavery extension was academic — or was it a series of manœuvres by politicians for partisan purposes? shrewdly asked Douglas. Northern and Southern radicals would strive to keep up the agitation, but their effort would avail nothing. The people would not gratify politicians whose real object was to 'organize parties on geographical lines.' [1]

The next speaker of historical importance and who was to be intimately associated with Lincoln, was a new Senator from Ohio who had entered the Senate at the same time with Seward. He was forty-two years old, tall, symmetrically proportioned, with grave but handsome features and a full, high brow. Of all the eminent antagonists of slavery except outright Abolitionists, Salmon P. Chase had shown himself to be the most earnest and sincere. His uncle, Philander Chase, Bishop of the Episcopal Church, had taken him when a boy from his native New Hampshire, to Ohio, and after graduating from Dartmouth, teaching a classical school in Washington, and making a visit to England, young Chase had opened a law office in Cincinnati.

From the very first, Chase took active and militant part in the anti-slavery movement, and defended so many fugitive slaves that Kentuckians called him 'the attorney-general for runaway negroes.' He was a Democrat, but had helped form the Liberty Party and had supported Birney in 1844 and Van Buren in 1848. The following year he was elected to the Senate by a combination of Free-Soilers and Democrats, a political bargain much like that which sent Sumner to Washington, and for which both men were furiously denounced at the time and for long afterwards. When on March 26, 1850, Chase rose to speak against Clay's compromise, he claimed to be and was accounted an 'independent Democrat.'

He spoke for the greater part of two days, the first section of

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 364–75.

his address being devoted to an exhaustive historical review of the evolution of slavery in the United States. The remainder of his argument was in support of the points made by Seward. He held that the Constitution did not authorize 'the absolute subjection of one man to the disposal of another man as property,' and he boldly denounced Justice Story's opinion in the Prigg case. Regardless of Constitutions and statutes, Chase said, slavery was condemned by 'that law of sublimer origin and more awful sanction than any human code' which enjoined every person 'to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us.' [1]

Few statements ever have been made in a parliamentary body which aroused such general dissent among lawyers, legislators, and the great body of the people, as did Seward's and Chase's announcement of the doctrine of 'a higher law' than written constitutions and regularly enacted statutes. There, Southern writers and publicists cried, was the true voice of lawlessness and social dissolution. How could government function, how could society exist if laws were to be flouted under the guise of some unwritten 'higher law' which any law-breaker could cite in justification of his conduct?

All maniacs made that excuse, said the *Washington Union* — yet this was 'the manifesto of the northern disunionists.' [2] The *Illinois State Register* branded Seward's doctrine as that of a 'time-serving demagogue.' [3] It was an 'audacious effusion of fanaticism,' said the National Democratic organ; but what else could be expected of one who had pandered to every group that could help him in his political ambitions, and who had been and was 'attached to the odds and ends of every movement . . . for the purpose of riding into power' — anti-Mason, anti-renter, and now Abolitionist.[4] The Administration paper repudiated Seward's dogma of a 'higher law;' it 'gives him a scope as unconfined as the winds' and must end in the 'annihilation of all government, all law, all rights.' [5]

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 468–80.
[2] *Washington Union*, March 13, 1850. [3] March 28, 1850.
[4] *Ib.*, March 16, 1850.
[5] *Washington Republic*, clipped in *ib.*, March 16, 1850.

If Seward's principles were those of the North — as they were not — there would indeed be necessity for considering secession, said the ardently Unionist Whig organ, the *Southron*, published at Jackson, Mississippi. Such talk was what kept the spirit of disunion alive in the South.[1] The *New Orleans Picayune*, the most conservative of Southern journals, declared that the Administration has 'cast off' Seward because of his 'fanatical dogma.'[2] To the same effect was the condemnation of Seward's 'higher law' theory by Justice John McLean of the Supreme Court of the United States in his charge to a Grand Jury: 'It is utterly destructive of all law' and 'would overturn the basis of society. We must stand by the [Fugitive Slave] law.'[3]

'A higher law — a divine law — a natural law!' exclaimed Clay with infinite contempt. 'Who are they who venture to tell us what is divine and what is natural law? Where are their credentials of prophecy?' The same 'fanatics' were already promulgating other higher laws, such as division of property and confiscation of lands which the owner could not cultivate. With them 'the parchment from Heaven supersedes the parchment from Government. . . . Wild, reckless, and abominable theories, which strike at the foundations of all property, and threaten to crush in ruins the fabric of civilized society.'[4] Webster's disgust with the dogma of Seward and Chase was even more profound than that of Clay.[5]

On March 25, Senator Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter of Virginia, took the floor and made an able, albeit a radical and defiant speech. If a 'sectional majority should govern here, without regard to the limitations of the Constitution . . . would not that minority be bound . . . to dissolve their connection with such a Union, peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must?

[1] *Southron*, March 29, 1850.

[2] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, March 20, in issue of April 1, 1850. Also editorial in *ib.*, March 25, 1850.

[3] *Alexandria Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1850.

[4] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 572; *Works*, IX, 446–7.

[5] For example, Webster said in his speech at Capon Springs, Va., June 28, 1851, that 'when nothing else will answer' the anti-slavery opponents of the Constitution, 'they invoke religion and speak of a higher law. Gentlemen, this North Mountain is high, the Blue Ridge higher still; the Alleghany higher than either; and yet this higher law ranges farther than an eagle's flight above the highest peaks of the Alleghany. No common

Could it be treason, in such a case, to take sides with your native State? . . .

'Sir, if Virginia should ever think it her duty to separate from this Confederacy — and may God forever avert the necessity for such a step! — I should not hesitate as to whom my allegiance is due. Should she give the word of command I shall know her voice amid a thousand, and follow wherever she may lead. . . . Higher than the public peace, higher than the Union even, I prize the indispensable rights and liberties of my native State.' [1]

As spring opened, the new Senator from Illinois, General James Shields, delivered his maiden speech. It is worthy of note because of Lincoln's curious dislike of Shields which, as we have seen, had brought the two men to the duelling ground less than ten years before. For the first time we here get a picture of this man with whom, because of his unhappy relations with Lincoln, history has dealt so unkindly. Madame Pulszky, who met and observed Shields in Washington two years after he made the speech to which we are now to listen for a moment, described him thus: 'His physiognomy is very pleasant. Dark hair, dark brown eyes, dark complexion, . . . elegant manners and eloquence . . . acuteness and precision in expression, comprehensive liberal views, unprejudiced research.' [2]

The Legislature of his State had instructed him to support the Wilmot proviso, he began, and he would do so; that was his Constitutional duty and he would discharge it or resign. How

vision can discern it; no conscience, not transcendental and ecstatic, can feel it; the hearing of common men never listens to its high behests; and therefore one should think it is not a safe law to be acted on, in matters of the highest practical moment. It is the code, however, of the fanatical and factious abolitionists of the North.' *Writings*, XIII, 435.

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. 1, Appendix, 382.

Hunter was forty-one years old when he made this much-talked-of speech. He had been elected to various offices almost continuously after his graduation from the University of Virginia and was Speaker of the House in the Twenty-sixth Congress.

He was elected to the Senate in 1847 and served until Virginia seceded, when he withdrew and went with his State. Four months later he was one of the Southern Senators who were expelled for treason.

He became a member of the Confederate Senate and served about six months as Confederate Secretary of State. In 1865 he was one of the Confederate Peace Commissioners who met President Lincoln at Hampton Roads.

[2] Pulszky, I, 175–6.

absurd the Southern position that, although Congress could declare war and annex territory, it could not govern the people of that territory! Shields declared that he was disgusted with mischief-makers, whether in the North or South. 'Sir, I have seen northern men and southern men stand together shoulder to shoulder in many a struggle. I have seen northern and southern blood mingle on many a field. I have seen northern and southern men follow the glorious standard of a common country to common victory, and to many a victory.' He would consider himself a 'criminal' if he tried to 'excite hate . . . between brethren of the same country, having the same glorious history and the same common destiny.' He believed that these very men, now denouncing one another, would 'to-morrow, if necessary, unite in a common struggle, for their common country, against a hostile world' — an idea which Seward tried to induce Lincoln to adopt eleven years later. Yet in Congress, said Shields, invective, vituperation, and almost 'personal collision' were 'ominous indications' of impending disaster, and like signs appeared all over the country.

He had been thrilled, he continued, by Clay's eloquence and statesmanship. 'I forgot . . . that I was a Democrat, and that he was the great leader of the Whig party. . . . I saw nothing but the great Republican, and the great American.' Yet Calhoun's plan for an 'equilibrium' between the sections, struck Shields as 'the mere dream of a political visionary.' The idea of unopposed secession was nonsense. 'The peaceable separation of the States — an amicable destruction of this Government? . . . No, sir; the very attempt would be war . . . continuous, ceaseless, perpetual war. . . . You would devour yourselves. . . . Does any sane man suppose that the great Northwest, with all its millions — that world that is growing up between the headwaters of the Ohio and the headwaters of the Missouri, . . . will ever peaceably submit to see the mouth of the Mississippi River in the possession of a foreign Government? Never, sir, never. . . . The idea is . . . very little short of insanity.'

Even if the South seceded and set up a government of her own, such a 'Southern Confederacy' would be a 'mere colony of masters and slaves to raise cotton for the factories of Eng-

land.' In that situation, slavery itself would presently perish. 'The South might as well attempt to shut out the pressure of the atmosphere, as to shut out the whole pressure of the civilized world on its cherished institutions.'

Not that abolition was possible or desirable at present, Shields believed; the slaves themselves would be 'the principal sufferers by the change.' Moreover, when two distinct races lived in the same community, one superior and the other inferior, 'like the negro and the white race, a state of mild and gentle slavery is the safest and happiest condition for the inferior race.' In any event, the Constitution must be upheld and, therefore, he would vote for a reasonable Fugitive Slave Law.

At the close of Shields's speech, a curious incident, not often witnessed in House or Senate, took place. When he said, 'I will no longer detain the Senate,' the official reporter recorded that 'several Senators' cried, 'Go on as long as you wish.' [1] Webster, Clay, and other leading Senators warmly congratulated Shields on his 'excellent' speech.[2]

In the House, debate was incessant, earnest, and, as we have seen, often fiery. Lincoln read the speeches of some Representatives as attentively as he read those of Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Chase, Seward, or even Douglas; for they were made by men from Illinois, all of whom he knew intimately, and their speeches were published in the Springfield papers as well as in the *Congressional Globe*. One was by Colonel William H. Bissell, who was still a Democrat, but an intense Union man.[3] It was in answer to a speech of Albert Gallatin Brown of Mississippi,[4] who had declared that the South would secede if her rights were further assailed. If slavery was so obnoxious that the North objected to having it in the Union, the South would take it out of the Union, Brown had declared; and surely, said he, the

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. I, 646–50, April 5, 1850.

[2] *Memoirs:* Gustave Koerner, I, 557–8.

[3] Bissell became a Republican soon after the formation of that party.

[4] Brown had just retired as Governor of Mississippi, was immediately elected to the House and, on the expiration of the term of Senator Foote, was elected to succeed him in the Senate. Brown was a Southern 'fire-eater' and was one of those expelled from the Senate for treason, six months after he had left that body when his State withdrew from the Union.

North would not 'seek a battle-field to renew, amid blood and carnage, this loathsome association.'

Bissell replied with tremendous force. Talk of disunion because of what the North had done was 'naked treason,' he shouted. Perhaps 'vicious' or 'deluded' people in the free States had helped the escape of fugitive slaves; but the 'mass of the people' of the North condemned these fanatics. He was for a stronger Fugitive Slave Law. 'We, the representatives of the North, will aid you to preserve your constitutional rights.'

'But, sir, we want to hear no more about disunion.' The people of the great West and Northwest loved the Union so much that, when the threat was made of destroying it, every man of them would swear 'by the Eternal God, as I now do, it shall never be done, if our arms can save it. Illinois proffered to the country nine regiments to aid in the vindication of her rights in the war with Mexico. And should danger threaten the Union from any source, or in any quarter, in the North or in the South, she will be ready to furnish twice, thrice, yes, four times that number, to march where that danger may be, to return when it is passed, or return no more.' [1]

The Representative from Lincoln's District, Thomas L. Harris, who defeated Logan while Lincoln was still in Congress, made a more earnest Union speech, if possible, than that of Bissell. Harris declared that the purposes of the Nashville Convention was 'disunion, and nothing but disunion.' Let secessionists beware! The citizens of Nashville — home of Andrew Jackson — would never permit their city to be made 'the den of a treasonable conclave.'

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 225–8. Illinois supplied four regiments in the Mexican War, but enough more men asked to be taken to make nine full regiments. Bissell's statement that Illinois alone would furnish four times as many to put down secession was regarded by Southern men as a threat of coercion and was published with much effect throughout the South.

During his speech, Bissell denied that the Mississippi regiment saved the day of Buena Vista. Jefferson Davis demanded a retraction. Bissell refused, Davis challenged him, Bissell accepted and 'the parties were preparing for the fight, when General [President] Taylor and Colonel Bliss [Taylor's son-in-law and brother-in-law of Davis] . . . interposed their good offices. They satisfied the hostile parties that each alluded to different points of the battle, and they finally succeeded in effecting a reconciliation.' Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, March 11, 1850. Davis challenged Bissell, Feb. 27, 1850. *Ib.*

There were no sections in the United States, said Harris. 'DISUNION, sir? Gentlemen do not know the meaning of the word they use. DISUNION is the dissolution of all government — the dissolution of society. Dissolution is war — civil, desolating war. . . . There is a necessity which binds us together, as immovable as the mountain's range, and as lasting as the flow of the mighty rivers of the West. Nothing can avoid it — nothing can remove it; time only adds to its strength.' [1]

Even that faithful Democrat and man of moderate speech, William A. Richardson, the chief lieutenant of Douglas, was defiant. Calhoun's idea of amending the Constitution so as to maintain a balance of power between free and slave States was preposterous; if such a device alone could save the Union, its end was near, Richardson asserted. 'Be assured that thirteen millions of people [the North] will never consent that they shall have no more political influence and power than seven millions [the South].' [2]

In a set speech Toombs declared that the Southern people were discontented because they believed that the North had a 'fixed purpose . . . to destroy their political rights;' and to put 'the ban of the empire' on Southern institutions, by excluding the South from 'the common benefits of the Republic.' Why all this cant about slavery? The very salaries of Senators and Representatives were paid in part from the sale of slaves for taxes. 'Gentlemen, . . . this is a pro-slavery Government. Slavery is stamped upon its heart. . . . I demand to-day that protection . . . which we have never withheld from you. It is the price of our allegiance.' The South asked nothing but her Constitutional rights; if those rights were denied, 'it will then be not only the right, but the duty of the slaveholding States to resume the powers which they have conferred upon that Government.' As to the Northern threats: 'Let the aggressor tremble,' shouted Toombs. 'When the argument is exhausted we will stand by our arms.' [3]

The Southern attitude was also explained from a source nearer to Lincoln than even Stephens or Toombs. Kentucky

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. I, Appendix, 410–4.
[2] *Ib.*, 423–5. April 3, 1850. [3] *Ib.*, 198–201.

was intimately woven into his personal life, and was to be vital in his effort to save the Union. The speeches of two Representatives from that State in the *Congressional Globe*, which, it cannot be repeated too often, Lincoln read with keen and troubled interest, are notable. One of these was made by Colonel Humphrey Marshall, a relative of Chief Justice Marshall.[1] Like Lincoln, he was a Whig and had supported Taylor for the Whig nomination for President.[2]

Abolitionism would not stop with emancipation, he averred, but under the pretext of 'a higher law' than the Constitution, would 'wallow in all the excesses of the vilest agrarianism.' The Southern people had been branded as 'thieves,' 'man-stealers,' 'tyrants,' 'abhorred of God,' and like terms. Was this the language of decency, much less of conciliation and brotherhood? Marshall scorned the threat of armed coercion — the force, which, when Lincoln employed it, turned thousands of Southern men into secessionists and was the decisive influence that made Virginia and North Carolina withdraw from the Union. Force did not create and could not preserve the Union. Kentucky was for 'a Union of equal sovereign States,' with 'equal rights, equal dignity, . . . as well as Constitutional obligation.' When such a Union no longer existed, Kentucky would be ready 'for "honor's toughest task."' [3]

Another speech by a Representative from that State was even more significant. Daniel Breck said that he was born and educated in the North, but he had lived in Kentucky for more than thirty years; [4] so he could speak with impartiality. The Abolitionists were as wild and cruel, he declared, as those who burned witches a hundred years ago. When whites and negroes were numerous and lived in the same place, slavery was best for both races. Negroes were essentially inferior and even if freed would

[1] Marshall was a graduate of West Point, a Colonel of volunteers in the Mexican War and became a Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army.

[2] *Washington Union*, April 7, 1850.

[3] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt. 1, Appendix, 406–10. April 3, 1850.

[4] Breck was born in Topsfield, Mass., and was a graduate of Dartmouth. He went to Kentucky and was very successful in the law and in finance. He became President of a branch of the State Bank of Kentucky and a Justice of the Supreme Court of that State. Breck was typical of large numbers of men of Northern birth who went South and attained eminence in the professions.

necessarily be a 'degraded *caste*, and virtually slaves,' in the South. Neither force nor so-called law could change the nature of things. No wonder the anti-slavery feeling had grown in the North. 'Lecturing fanatics and vagabonds' had had the field to themselves, and had 'grossly misrepresented' the harsh treatment of the slaves. These irresponsible itinerant agitators had even exhibited 'chains and manacles, and the most horrid instruments for punishment.' It was not to be endured. But Breck deprecated disunion — only fanatics, North and South, thought that desirable. Yet if it must come, although 'the bones of my ancestors sleep beneath the sod of New England, and I have kindred blood in almost every State north of the Potomac,' his first duty was to Kentucky, and he would stand by her in whatever she did, go with her wherever she went.[1]

For the first few weeks of the debate, excitement in the South increased; but, after a while, it began to subside. In March an immense Union meeting was held in Baltimore;[2] while another at Natchez was said to be the greatest assemblage that ever had met in that city;[3] and similar Union meetings were held all over Mississippi.[4] The *St. Louis Republican* called for such gatherings everywhere.[5] From the middle of May discussion in Congress went forward with ever-diminishing animosity. Washington representatives of conservative Southern papers began to denounce the extremists of that section.[6] Webster's argument and appeal were having their effect in Congress and throughout the Nation. A week after the Seventh of March Speech, the correspondent of the *New Orleans Picayune* wrote his paper that the flames were beginning to die.[7]

It was all due to Webster, everybody said. 'He braved the prejudice of the North; he rebuked the intemperance of the South,' wrote the editor of the *Washington Republic*. 'He bared

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXII, Pt I, Appendix, 361–4. March 25, 1850.

[2] *Alexandria Gazette*, March 6, 1850.

[3] *Natchez Weekly Courier*, March 6, 13, 1850.

[4] *Ib.*, March 27, 1850.

[5] Clipped in *Alexandria Gazette*, March 21, 1850.

[6] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, June 9, 17, 1850.

[7] Washington Correspondence, March 13, in issue March 25, 1850. 'Instead of being desponding, ominous, almost despairing, it [public opinion] is now joyous, buoyant, full of hope, almost confident.' *Ib.*, March 25, editorial.

his breast to the assaults of fanaticism, and exposed his name to the malice of faction. But he may well be content to forego the plaudits of madmen and plotters of treason, to receive the homage of a continent of freemen. . . . The slate-pencil politicians, who cypher out the problem of disunion like a sum in tare and tret, were bid to hang their satchels by night-time upon the black hemlock.' Let the delegates to the Nashville Convention subside — 'another cry was heard in the land.' Webster had brought the 'tempest-tossed and billow-beaten bark . . . safe to harbor.' [1] The *Louisville Journal* declared that 'the whole country is ringing with the utmost enthusiastic applause.' [2]

Clay's influence, too, was working in the hearts of men. Passion was cooling, moderation resuming its sway, love of the Union strengthening those cords which Calhoun had believed broken or breaking. Soon after Clay's first speech, letters from 'the most eminent and influential men in New England and New York' insisting on compromise, poured in on Congress.[3]

Democratic as well as Whig papers in the South began sternly to rebuke disunionists. 'It is idle and treasonable to say let us have the Missouri compromise, or we dissolve,' said the *New Orleans Picayune*. 'The Union cannot be dissolved with all the efforts of which the North and South are capable.' [4] Even before the Compromise was under way, the *Natchez Courier* came out with a flaming editorial for the Union, although bitterly condemning Abolitionists as the source of the trouble.[5] The *Southron* declared that if politicians would do one-half as much to close the breach as they had done to widen it, all would soon be harmonious. That paper acclaimed Webster's speech as noble and patriotic, and printed many similar expressions from the Southern press. Yet even that stanch Whig journal gave warning that the Union could not be 'hooped and kept together by *force*.' [6]

At the first rumor that the Nashville Convention might

[1] Editorial in the *Republic*, clipped in the *Alexandria Gazette*, March 15, 1850.

[2] *Louisville Journal*, March 15, 1850.

[3] Washington Correspondence, *Alexandria Gazette*, Feb. 12, 1850.

[4] June 24, 1850.

[5] *Natchez Weekly Courier*, Jan. 9, 1850.

[6] *Southron*, March 8, 22, 1850.

be controlled by secessionists, the *Natchez Courier* savagely rebuked any plan for extreme measures. 'We do not expect to see any such gasconading, empty, meaningless bravado . . . that worthless chivalry which eternally barks but never bites.' [1]

A month before the Convention met, the *Southron* came out boldly against it; that meeting had dwindled to a mere gesture of a single political party.[2] The *Louisville Journal* was of a like mind.[3] Kentucky was decidedly against the project.[4] Much opposition developed in Louisiana, and the Legislature of Tennessee laid on the table a resolution approving secession.[5] Alabama showed hostility to the scheme [6] — one delegate, Colonel T. B. Bethea, declared that he would not attend if the object of the Convention was to unite the Southern people against any legislation Congress might enact.[7] Delegates began to pass through New Orleans to Nashville, but, declared the *Picayune*, there was no longer any expectation that the Convention would be representative of the South.[8]

So when the over-advertised gathering assembled at Nashville in June, no such numbers attended as had been expected in the winter of 1849–50, nor was that intense enthusiasm displayed which had marked the passage of resolutions by Southern Legislatures when responding to the call. Before it convened and during its early sessions, the purpose of the gathering was savagely denounced in and about Nashville itself.[9] In vain did Walter T. Colquitt of Georgia, once a Methodist preacher, urge '*every Southern State to be moulding bullets, casting cannon, and filling their arsenals, if need be, in order to defend their rights.*' [10] The Convention did not respond.

The resolutions were a restatement of those formerly adopted

[1] *Natchez Weekly Courier*, Jan. 17, 1850.

[2] *Southron*, May 3, 1850. This paper continued its attacks after the Nashville Convention had adjourned. *Ib.*, June 21, July 5, Aug. 23, Sept. 9, 1850.

[3] March 1, 1850. [4] *Natchez Weekly Courier*, March 13, 1850.

[5] *New Orleans Picayune*, March 11, 1850. [6] *Ib.*, April 1, 20, 1852.

[7] *Ib.*, March 18, 1850.

[8] *Ib.*, June 3, 1850. Italics *Picayune's*.

[9] *Nashville Union*, June 15, 1850.

[10] *Alexandria Gazette*, June 17, 1850. Italics *Gazette's*.

by the States participating in the meeting, but they were wordy and without spirit. Even so, Unionist papers of the South denounced them.[1] The Address to the Southern People, however, written by Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina, had the old fury and counselled secession.[2] General Gideon Johnson Pillow spoke against Rhett's proposal.[3] A minority of the Committee on Resolutions refused to endorse it.[4] The *Southron* assailed it in withering editorials.[5] In the National capital the Nashville proceedings were practically ignored — the Convention was thought to have been composed of 'ultras' and not representative of the South.[6] Soon Washington opinion became settled that the Nashville gathering had been a fiasco.[7]

Yet extremists, North and South, kept up their clamorous struggle. A violently radical paper, the *Southern Press*, was established in Washington. Unionist journals in the South scorned and denounced it. Its editorials would, said the *New Orleans Picayune*, provide every 'abolition or Free Soil scribbler with fruitful themes of malicious retaliation.'[8] But the *Washington Union* was terribly alarmed: 'The Union is in danger — in imminent danger,' declared that organ of the National Democracy. The North must stop taunting the South, it said, for the feeling there was deep and indignant and Southern 'malcontents' were active.[9] For his editorial next day, the veteran

[1] *Southron*, July 5, 1850.

[2] *Washington Union*, Aug. 13, 1850, quoting the *New Orleans Picayune*.

[3] *Alexandria Gazette*, June 17, 1850. This fact is important. Pillow was one of the most influential men in the South. He had been a Major General in the Mexican War, took part in several battles and was twice severely wounded. At the time of the Nashville Convention he was forty-four years old, and, two years later, received several votes in the Democratic National Convention as his party's candidate for President. When Tennessee seceded, General Pillow organized the military forces of that State and, later, was made a Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army. He was a brave and determined Southern officer.

[4] *Nashville Union*, June 15, 1850. This minority was composed of two members from Tennessee, and one each from Florida, Alabama, and Arkansas. Their dissent was to the secession part of Rhett's address.

[5] *Southron*, Aug. 9, 30, 1850.

[6] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, June 11, in issue of June 24, 1850.

[7] *Ib.*, June 16, in issue of July 1, 1850.

[8] *Ib.*, July 1, 1850.

[9] *Washington Union*, July 3, 1850.

editor [1] dipped his pen in the ink of despair. The Fourth of July 'comes to us in clouds and darkness,' he wailed.[2]

From Nashville Rhett went to Macon, Georgia, and made an ardent speech for secession.[3] The *Washington Union* denounced him: 'Does he pride himself on being a traitor?' asked the venerable Ritchie.[4] But let 'Senators, of noble spirit, and stern virtue, never despair,' he wrote next day; for 'never did a nobler cause appeal to a free people' — the cause of a 'common country.' [5]

For the time being Rhett and his followers clamored in vain, although one day their words were to yield a harvest of bayonets. The struggle of 1850 was practically over, however, and the crowds that had thronged the capital went home; by the middle of June 'Washington is very still, and very few people in it.' [6] A disunion meeting at Natchez in September was a

[1] Thomas Ritchie was in his young manhood, one of the Jeffersonian 'triumvirate' in Virginia. See *Thomas Ritchie: A Study in Virginia Politics:* Charles Henry Ambler. Also *Marshall:* Beveridge, I, 210; IV, 10, 146, 174, 309, 335–39, 358. Ritchie was now seventy-two years old.

[2] *Washington Union*, July 4, 1850. It was otherwise seventy-two years ago, continued Ritchie. 'Fanaticism had not then raised her gorgon front to scowl upon any of our countrymen in consequence of their peculiar institutions. Who led the armies of liberty to victory? A slaveholder. Who framed the Declaration of our Nation's Independence? A slaveholder. What legislature proposed . . . to form the constitution for the whole? Still the Virginia slaveholders,' etc.

[3] Rhett demanded 'a temporary dissolution of the Union, by the secession of one or more of the Southern States.' Unless the North granted 'new guaranties in the Constitution,' the separation would become permanent. These guaranties were:

1. Expressly depriving Congress of the insulting pretension of a right to exclude us and our institutions . . . from the common Territories.

2. Expressly depriving Congress of the 'equally degrading pretension of a right to reject all applications from slave States to enter our Union.

3. 'Expressly taking away the power to intermeddle in any way with slave institutions, in United States arsenals, forts, and dock-yards — in the District of Columbia — and between States.

4. 'New guaranties for the strict performance of existing obligations to render up to their owners slaves fleeing to any free States.

5. 'New guaranties, expressly limiting the appropriation of common money to objects specified in the constitution.

6. 'New guaranties against the usurpation of taxing one citizen or one section of the Union for the benefit of another, by the duties of the general government.'

If the North would give all these 'guaranties,' Rhett declared that 'our condition will then be favorable for renewing the struggle with the despotic elements of government, and by watchfulness on our part freedom may descend from generation to generation for ages to come.' *Charleston Mercury*, clipped in *Alexandria Gazette*, Oct. 1, 1850.

[4] *Washington Union*, July 27, 1850. [5] *Ib.*, July 28, 1850.

[6] Webster to Edward Curtis, June 16, 1850. *Private Correspondence*, II, 373–4.

failure — only sixty-two persons were present. The *Courier* ridiculed it, although that devoted Unionist paper asserted that it was as ardent a supporter of Southern institutions as the hottest secessionist in the South.[1] Immediately the Unionists of Natchez and northwestern Mississippi countered with a tremendous demonstration.[2] In October a big Union meeting was held at Mobile, Alabama.[3] The *Louisville Journal* scourged the 'wretched disunionists' for their 'treasonable sentiments.'[4] So the immediate crisis was overcome, and, for a decade, the Union was secure.[5]

Union papers of the South rejoiced. 'The People were always for Compromise and Adjustment,' exclaimed the *Alexandria Gazette*. 'The People were always for Union and Peace. The People were always anxious to see Concord and Harmony. Their voice has, at last, been obeyed.'[6] 'Love of the Union still proves to be the strongest feeling in the bosom of an American,' exulted Ritchie.[7]

> 'All hail for the Union!
> (Let no one gainsay)
> Of States in communion —
> Oh, last it alway,'

sang the *Southron* in an ecstasy of rejoicing.[8] The whole trouble had been stirred up by 'pestilent politicians' of both sections declared the *Louisville Journal*, 'wretched fellows' in the North who ranted about 'the slave power' and 'Southern demagogues' who prated of 'insults' and preached hatred. But, thank Heaven, 'an overwhelming majority of the people in all sections are true to the Union, and detest the furious demagoguism that would marshal them against each other as enemies.'[9]

[1] *Natchez Weekly Courier*, Sept. 11, 1850. A curious prophecy was made at this meeting. General Felix Huston asserted that disunion was inevitable and that it would occur about 1860. *Ib.*

[2] *Ib.*, Sept. 25, 1850. [3] *Ib.*, Oct. 23, 1850.

[4] *Louisville Journal*, Oct. 2, 1850.

[5] For the Nashville Resolution, see Ames, VI, 23–29. And for a clear account of the Nashville Convention, see Channing, VI, 79–80.

[6] *Alexandria Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1850.

[7] *Washington Union*, Sept. 15, 1850. [8] *Southron*, Oct. 4, 1850.

[9] *Louisville Journal*, June 26, 1850.

In its fervor for the Union, the *Southron* scourged Southern Democrats. 'Do they want disunion with all its untold horrors?' That journal even praised Senator Foote for advocating adjustment; his name would be inscribed among those who 'in the crisis of 1850, which threatened the destruction of the American Republic, stemmed the torrent of sectional fanaticism, and saved the South and the Union.' [1]

Just before the final voting began, the Washington correspondent of the *New Orleans Picayune* wrote that 'the Southern ultras' had finally decided not to manœuvre with Northern radicals for the passage of the Wilmot proviso to promote their scheme for secession; and that therefore the 'moderate men of the North' would stand by the South and 'kick the Wilmot proviso literally out of the House of Representatives.' The fact that 'Southern gentlemen' would even shake hands with the 'free soil rabble' disgusted patriotic Northern men; for 'of all the miserable factions that ever disturbed the halls of a legislature, the Wilmot provisoists are the worst.' If Southern men would ignore them, 'the whole set of small politicians would be destroyed forever. . . . They are the serpents whom the Southern ultras nurse in their bosoms, till they shall be stung by them, and perish.' [2]

So opposition disintegrated and, one after another, the measures suggested by Clay were enacted, the Southern radicals opposing all but the Fugitive Slave Law, and Northern radicals like Seward, Chase, and Giddings, resisting all except the admission of California and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. But the spirit of conciliation so far prevailed that even the Fugitive Slave Law passed both Houses by an overwhelming vote.[3] John P. Hale of New Hampshire raged in the Senate against the consummation of the villainy, while in the House, George W. Julian of Indiana declared that 'a tissue of more heartless and cold-blooded enactments never disgraced a civilized people.' [4] But the Unionist press of the whole

[1] *Southron*, Aug. 2, 1850.

[2] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, September 1, in issue of September 16, 1850.

[3] *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., XXI, Pt. II, 1659–60, 1810.

[4] *Slave Power:* Wilson, II, 302–3.

country rejoiced. Its sentiment was well expressed by the correspondent of the *New Orleans Picayune:* 'Civil war is nipped in the bud — rebellion is quelled before it had time to show its monster head.' [1]

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 which was to become so powerful a force in the renewal of sectional antagonism and which Lincoln was to defend so steadfastly, was designed to be a substitute for the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. That law had worked for half a century; but the brief and seemingly casual words of Justice Story in the Prigg case, that any State might forbid its officials to enforce the National statute and the encouragement thus given to oppose its execution, had wrecked the machinery which that law had created. It was to meet this situation that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was enacted.

The principal difference between it and the former Act was that it provided that National instead of State officials should execute the law; and that United States Marshals who refused should be heavily fined. Federal Courts and Commissioners appointed by them were empowered to hear and determine applications for the return of runaway slaves and to issue certificates accordingly — all upon 'satisfactory proof' of the claimant's ownership and the slave's identity. The testimony of the slave was excluded and no jury trial was provided.[2] Heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon any one who hindered the arrest, harbored, or concealed, or assisted the escape of a fugitive.[3]

For the enactment of this law, Webster was blamed and praised more than any other one man or all other men combined. 'It is Mr. Webster's Fugitive Slave Law,' declared Theodore Parker.[4] Henry Wilson said the same thing.[5] And, in the sense that his vast influence had carried the compromise through, Webster was responsible for that statute. But, in the

[1] Washington Correspondence, *New Orleans Picayune*, Sept. 30, in issue of Oct. 14, 1850.

[2] This feature was new — the Act of 1793 made no such provision.

[3] *United States Statutes at Large*, IX, 462–5. Act Sept. 18, 1850.

[4] Parker, II, 330.

[5] Wilson, II, 307.

same sense, Webster had saved the Union.[1] Had the adjustment of 1850 not been made, it is certain that the South would have withdrawn at that time, and it is not unlikely that she would have succeeded in setting up a separate and independent government. Indeed, the heavy weight of probability is that, in 1850, effective military coercion of the South would not have been made.

If ever the South was to secede without serious armed opposition, Rhett was sound in urging her to do so in that fateful year. But love of the Union, 'the tender chords of memory,' which Lincoln vainly strove to touch ten years later, were still too strong in 1850; and, though their extremists continued to rage, the masses of the Southern people accepted the Compromise most of which they had at first opposed, and the South went on her way within the Union to a greater prosperity than she ever had known.

But in the North unrest at first increased. Slavery still existed in the National capital; it had not been excluded by act of Congress from the Territories; State Legislatures had been made powerless to prevent the recovery of fugitive slaves. Every point of agitation remained and one had been immeasurably strengthened. The Abolitionists continued their onslaught with increased energy and with two fresh and concrete objectives of attack, one the most eminent and conspicuous personage of his time, the other the most stringent act ever passed by Congress on slavery and one of the most inept and impolitic laws ever enacted.

Abolition tactics had been to vilify individuals, the more distinguished the better, since personalities attracted notice and high-placed men were in the public eye; and to make use of specific and picturesque incidents as illustrative of the 'Wrong' the Abolitionists assailed. 'The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must

[1] See Channing, VI, 84–5. Webster's speech was printed in practically every paper in the United States, and published in pamphlet form. It was translated into German and appeared in most German papers in the country. *Alexandria Gazette*, March 13, 1850.

The *Illinois Journal* said, April 25, 1850, that at that time, 125,000 copies of the Seventh of March Speech had been printed and 50,000 more ordered.

A 'beautiful' edition was printed in Washington, of which more than 100,000 copies were sold in a short time. *Washington Union*, March 29, 1850.

be made to feel it, through the hides of their idols,' declared Wendell Phillips. 'It is on this principle that every reform must take for its text the mistakes of great men. God gives us great scoundrels for texts to antislavery sermons. See to it, when Nature has provided you a monster like Webster, that you exhibit him — himself a whole menagerie — throughout the country [Great cheering].' And again: 'We will gibbet the name of every apostate so black and high that his children's children shall blush to bear it.' [1] These tactics were now employed with a vigor and skill hitherto unequalled.

Like strokes of adders was the attack of the Abolitionists on Webster. It began the instant the Seventh of March Speech appeared in the newspapers, continued while he lived and was kept up after he died.[2] He could be compared only to Benedict Arnold, or the Earl of Strafford, declared Theodore Parker at an abolition meeting in Faneuil Hall: [3] 'I wish we could take a mantle big and black enough, and go backward and cover up the shame of the great man who has fallen in the midst of us.' Why had Webster done a deed so base? The only 'reasonable' explanation was to consider it 'as a bid for the Presidency.' [4]

Another preacher was certain that President Fillmore induced Webster to make the Seventh of March Speech by offering to make him the head of his cabinet. 'The arch traitor was rewarded with the office of Secretary of State.' [5] One religious paper attributed the fall 'of this Lucifer' to his long years of 'intemperate habits.' [6]

'What if Daniel Webster has betrayed the cause of liberty,

[1] *Speeches and Lectures:* Phillips, 48, 115.

[2] The Abolitionists refused to join the Free-Soilers in the funeral procession when Webster was buried. Phillips scourged the recusants who had denounced 'the treachery of Daniel Webster to the cause of liberty,' for having shown him honor in death: 'Social proprieties, self-respect and regard to consistency . . . will prevent us from giving such proof of this newly invented Christian courtesy [great cheering].' Phillips, 48–9.

[3] March 25, 1850, 'to consider the speech of Mr. Webster.' Parker, II, 170. Also the *Liberator*, April 5, 1850.

[4] Parker, II, 149, 166–7.

[5] *Some Recollections of our Anti-Slavery Conflict:* Samuel J. May, 349. So often was this accusation made that many actually believed it. Yet President Taylor did not die until more than four months after the Seventh of March Speech and Vice-President Fillmore had not the faintest idea that he ever would become President.

[6] *McGrawville* (N.Y.) *Christian Contributor*, clipped in the *Liberator*, April 12, 1850.

bent his supple knees anew to the Slave Power and dishonored the State!' exclaimed the *Liberator*. Webster was 'only one of eight hundred thousand [citizens of Massachusetts], many of whom are incomparably his superior.' He was far below the master tyrant, Calhoun, who was 'uppermost among the damned.' Indeed, 'damnation suits his [Calhoun's] taste and temperament.' If Calhoun was sane, he was 'not merely an adulterer, a thief, a barbarian, . . . a man-stealer,' privately and by retail, but publicly and by wholesale.[1] Garrison published Webster's speech in full and afterwards printed extracts from it under the caption: 'THE LATE SATANIC SPEECH OF DANIEL WEBSTER.'[2]

The devotion of Massachusetts to Webster was a terrible weapon in the hands of Phillips: 'When you have launched your spear into the rhinoceros hide of a Webster . . . every Whig and Democrat feels it,' he exclaimed at an anti-Webster meeting. 'It is not often . . . that Providence permits the eyes of twenty millions of thinking people to behold the fall of another Lucifer, from the very battlements of Heaven, down into that "lower deep of the lowest deep" of hell [Great sensation].' At another meeting, when some one in the audience called for cheers for Webster, Phillips exclaimed: 'Yes, three cheers for Sir Pertinax M'Sycophant, who all his life long has been bowing down to the Slave Power to secure the Presidency . . . and destined to be outwitted at last [Cheers].'[3]

In his poem, *Ichabod*, Whittier thus branded Webster:

> 'So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
> Which once he wore!
> The glory from his gray hairs gone
> Forevermore! . . .
> Then, pay the reverence of old days
> To his dead fame;
> Walk backward, with averted gaze,
> And hide the shame!'[4]

---

[1] *Liberator*, March 15, 1850. [2] *Ib.*, April 12, 1850.

[3] *Speeches and Lectures:* Phillips, 48–9, 67.

[4] 'The abolition propagandists of the North turned upon him [Webster] with a fury that showed they realized that what he had done was to put an end for the time being to their schemings. There are no more painful, no more unjustifiable, lines in American

The aged statesman was no less heartily sustained by his friends. Nearly a thousand of the first men of Boston published over their names a letter applauding the Seventh of March Speech and supporting the position he had taken.[1] The same thing was done in New York. When Webster visited Boston in April, 1850, cheering crowds followed him.[2] Similar demonstrations greeted him wherever he spoke. He was overwhelmed with commendation and requests for speeches. 'From the South, the West, and some parts of the middle States,' he wrote to his closest friend, 'addresses, letters, and calls for speeches, continue to come in without number.' [3]

Not once did he waver. At Capon Springs, Virginia, he declared that if the North would not obey the Fugitive Slave Law, 'the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact;' [4] but, on the other hand, the first step in secession would be promptly met. He would not be a part of an Administration, he declared, which, in such a case, did not act 'effectually, and at once.' [5] During the summer of 1851 he became very ill; [6] but throughout those strenuous months his spirit never succumbed, never faltered.

Notwithstanding vilification and abuse, Webster carried with him the people of moderate temper all over the country, and nowhere was there a stancher adherent of his doctrine of

poesy than those in John Greenleaf Whittier's "*Ichabod.*"' Channing, VI, 85. In 1880 Whittier sought to make amend by his poem 'The Lost Occasion.'

From the time of the Seventh of March Speech, Webster had been terribly harassed and his health had declined. 'Since the 7th of March, there has not been an hour in which I have not felt a "crushing" weight of anxiety and responsibility [over the compromise]. It is over. My part is acted, and I am satisfied. The rest I leave to stronger bodies and fresher minds. . . . I have lost a good deal of flesh, and you will think me thin and haggard.' Webster to Peter Harvey, Sept. 10, 1850. *Private Correspondence*, II, 385–6.

His eyes had failed him, too, and he could write only for one hour daily. Webster to Harvey, Sept. 12, 1850. *Ib.*, 386–8.

[1] *Boston Advertiser*, April 3, 1850. This letter was widely published throughout the country. Among those who signed it were Rufus Choate, Charles C. Parsons, Caleb Loring, William Appleton, Charles P. Curtis, George Ticknor, Benj. R. Curtis, William H. Prescott [the historian], J. A. Lowell, C. C. Felton [Prof. of Greek in Harvard], and Jared Sparks [the author, then President of Harvard].

[2] *Ib.*, April 30, 1850. See Webster, XIII, 386–9.

[3] Webster to Peter Harvey, April 13, 1850. *Private Correspondence*, II, 365–6.

[4] Webster, XIII, 439. [5] *Ib.*, 436.

[6] Webster to Fillmore, July 26, 1852. *Private Correspondence*, II, 544.

American solidarity than was Lincoln. The influence over the Northern people of Webster's tremendous appeals for the Union, from the reply to Hayne to the Seventh of March Speech and thereafter, cannot be estimated. It was the noble passages from Webster, learned in school by Northern boys, that prepared them to respond, with arms in their hands, when Lincoln called them to support the National Government and to save the Union.

The basic abolition principle that no human statute ought to be obeyed which was in conflict with the commands of God, was applied to the new Fugitive Slave Law with the same passion that it had been used against the Act which it superseded. 'The natural duty to keep the law of God overrides the obligation to observe any human statute,' Parker said in a sermon delivered immediately after the Fugitive Slave Law went into effect.[1] Their oath to execute it was 'not morally binding' [2] even on officers of the United States, and he who observed it was worse than a Herod, a Nero, a Jeffreys, or any monster of history.[3]

All citizens were 'morally bound' to violate the statute.[4] Enlistment in the army did not relieve a man from the 'jurisdiction of natural law and the dominion of God.' In the eye of the Deity, President Polk had murdered all who were killed in the Mexican War.[5] For that matter, asserted Parker, the doctrine of obedience to law 'lies at the basis of every despot's throne.' [6] It was a 'false idea' that 'the people are morally bound to obey any law . . . until it is repealed' [7] — no, indeed; we must not 'keep a wicked law.' [8]

God's idea, said Parker, was that of 'a government of all, for all, by all,' which would assure justice and equality to everyone.[9] The contrary idea was that of slavery, and there could be no peace in the United States 'until one or the other of these ideas is cast out of the councils of the nation.' The Democratic idea — 'the American idea' — must and would prevail, and the day would come when we would have 'a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people.' But this was 'irre-

[1] Sunday, Sept. 22, 1850. Parker, II, 256.
[2] *Ib.*, 270. [3] *Ib.*, 345–7. [4] *Ib.*, 271. [5] *Ib.*, 264–5.
[6] *Ib.*, 298. [7] *Ib.*, 332. [8] *Ib.*, 301. [9] *Ib.*, 288.

concilably hostile' to the slave theory which required 'a government of all the people by a part of the people — the masters; for a part of the people — the masters; against a part of the people — the slaves.' 'It is not possible for these two ideas to continue to live in peace.' No! 'There must be war between them before there can be peace.' [1]

From the pulpit Parker counselled physical resistance. 'If I were the fugitive, and could escape in no other way, I would kill him [the person seizing a runaway slave] with as little compunction as I would drive a mosquito from my face.' [2]

Since fugitive slaves could not be tried by jury, Phillips and Garrison urged them to arm themselves and kill their pursuers, in order to secure a trial by jury for homicide.[3] Insurrection was openly advocated as wise and righteous, if necessary to obtain freedom. 'You will say this is bloody doctrine, — anarchical doctrine; it will prejudice people against the cause. . . . I know it will,' said Phillips, in his quiet voice. As to the statute, 'we will ourselves trample this accursed Fugitive Slave Law under foot [Great cheering].' [4] In Boston the negroes were highly excited and held meetings.[5] At Faneuil Hall, Sumner, although still designated a United States Commissioner, declared that he would not obey the 'accursed bill.' [6]

There was no danger that the South would secede, said Parker, in his famous Thanksgiving Day sermon, preached in 1850. If the Union were in peril, a hundred thousand Massachusetts men would rally 'with the cartridge-box at their side, and firelock on their shoulder.' Not that the North would be a 'loser' if the South did withdraw, but he doubted 'if the North will yet allow them to go.' Still, 'a serious attempt to execute the fugitive slave law . . . ought to dissolve' the Union. The Constitution was not sacrosanct. It was merely 'the machinery of the national mill; and suppose we agree to take it out and put in new; we might get worse, very true, but we might get better.' [7]

[1] Parker, II, 176–7, 293. Compare Lincoln's House-divided speech (1858): 'I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free;' and the Address at Gettysburg (1863): 'That government of the people, by the people, for the people,' etc.

[2] *Ib.*, 258. [3] *Speeches and Lectures:* Phillips, 71–81, 85, 91. [4] *Ib.*, 80.

[5] Wilson, II, 305. [6] *Ib.*, 308. Nov. 6, 1850. [7] Parker, II, 302–3.

Indeed, as we have seen, the leading assailants of slavery and the South — for they identified the institution and the section — were either cold or openly hostile to the Union. Not long after Clay introduced his Compromise Beecher announced in the New York *Independent* that 'whenever the Union comes between a Christian people and their Christianity, it becomes a snare. . . . There are many evils infinitely greater' than 'dissolution of our Union. . . . Religion and humanity are a price too dear to pay even for the Union.' [1] A popular Unitarian minister of Syracuse, New York, the Reverend Samuel J. May, declared in a sermon of which he was very proud, that 'if such a law [Fugitive Slave] . . . be essential to our Republic . . . let it [the Republic] be broken up.' [2]

In such fashion did Abolitionists belabor Webster, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Union itself. The Act was an incident, however, to the 'Great Iniquity.' Slavery must go, no matter what the cost. If Webster's course was followed, the end would be a repetition of Santo Domingo. 'God forgive us for our cowardice,' cried Parker in a sermon, 'if we let it come to this, that three millions . . . of degraded human beings, degraded by us, must wade through slaughter to their unalienable rights.' [3] Nothing must stand in the way of emancipation. 'If the Bible defends slavery . . . so much the worse for the Bible.' [4]

The time approached when the American people would do as those of France and South American countries had done, prophesied Phillips. 'The hour will come — God hasten it! — when the American people shall so stand on the deck of their Union, "built i' th' eclipse, and rigged with curses dark." If I live to see that hour, I shall say to every slave, Strike now for Freedom! [Long-continued and deafening cheers.]' [5]

What Theodore Parker proclaimed from the pulpit, Wendell Phillips fulminated from the rostrum, and William Lloyd Garrison wrote in the *Liberator*, smaller men of less restraint, repeated

[1] Quoted in the *Liberator*, March 8, 1850.

[2] May, 360. 'You are bound to use force and arms to prevent a fellow man from being enslaved,' was his opinion of the Fugitive Slave Law. This sermon was preached at Syracuse, Rochester, and Oswego during October, 1850. *Ib.*, 356.

[3] Parker, II, 172. [4] *Ib.*, 196.

[5] The Melodeon, Boston, April 12, 1852. *Speeches and Lectures:* Phillips, 84–5.

in language even more extravagant and bloody. 'Death to Kidnappers,' ran a resolution introduced by Rev. Henry C. Wright in the Western Anti-Slavery Society at Salem, Ohio, September 16, 1850 — 'DEATH TO KIDNAPPERS, whether they come to us as voters, congressmen, presidents, judges, marshals, constables, *posse-comitatus* or slave-holders.' [1]

Wright declared that 'instant death' should be inflicted 'without judge or jury' on anybody who tried to execute the Fugitive Slave Law.[2] Stephen S. Foster stated before the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, September, 1850, that if even Webster should attempt to return a fugitive slave, it 'will cost him his life.' Amid applause, Foster asked his fellow Abolitionists to 'tread . . . under our feet . . . any portions of it [the Bible] that sanctions slavery;' and Wright denounced the Bible as 'a self-evident falsehood,' if it recognized slavery.[3] 'O, my fellow-citizens, blood has been flowing . . . from the backs of our enslaved countrymen ever since 1776, and is flowing now,' cried the Reverend B. B. Raymond, a Baptist clergyman at a meeting in Syracuse, New York, held in protest against the Fugitive Slave Law. 'Yes and blood will flow . . . on the battlefields of a civil war if we carry out this accursed law.' [4]

These are not extravagant examples of the language which Parker, Garrison, and Phillips inspired among ardent and excitable men and women throughout the United States. Nor were the Abolitionists the only assailants of the Fugitive Slave Law. The anti-slavery men were quite as vigorous in their condemnation of it, albeit their language was not so violent. Increasing numbers of clergymen preached the doctrine of the 'higher law' or 'God's law,' as irreconcilable with 'slave law.' Big meetings of these opponents of the Congressional adjustment of the sectional conflict were held in several Northern States.[5]

'Repeal the law! Repeal the law!' became the anti-slavery war-cry throughout the North. The effect on Southern Union men was unhappy and portentous. 'Let the fanatics howl on!'

[1] *Liberator*, Oct. 4, 1850.
[2] Wright to Garrison, Sept. 19, 1850, in *Liberator*, Oct. 4, 1850.
[3] *Liberator*, Sept. 27, 1850. [4] May, 355. [5] Wilson, II, 309–12.

exclaimed the conservative Unionist *Alexandria Gazette*. 'Too long have they been suffered to do violence to our feelings and injury to our interests.' They could do no harm 'if the law is upheld and sustained. . . . Never was a nation cursed with a more pestiferous and inexcusable set of mischief-makers!' [1] Resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law angered and alarmed the *Southron*. In the same issue containing a heavily displayed call for a 'GRAND UNION MASS MEETING' at Jackson, Mississippi, an editorial appeared, declaring that the *Southron* had believed that opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law would be confined to Abolitionists, but that if the paper had been mistaken — if resistance became general throughout the North — then disunion would surely come.[2]

Disunion would be 'horrible,' again said the *Southron*, but 'slavery' of the South to the North would be a still greater evil. The denial by 'ruthless majorities' of property, liberty, and security, would 'produce inevitable revolution' by the minority. If the Fugitive Slave Law should be repealed or become 'a mere nullity, if swarms of slave stealers are to hover along the border slave States and seize our property, and are to be encouraged by the North, inevitable resistance and measures of retaliation will be the first result, and then disunion.' [3]

Far larger than the abolition and anti-slavery meetings were the public demonstrations in the larger Northern cities in approval of Webster and in support of the Compromise and the Union. One such gathering at Castle Garden in New York, October 30, 1850, was notable. It was sponsored by the leaders of the bar and the important business men of that city. One of the speakers was General Winfield Scott.[4] Another Union meeting at Faneuil Hall a month later was still more impressive; the foremost citizens of Boston attended and Benjamin R. Curtis, Rufus Choate, and two leading Democrats addressed the assemblage. One of these Democrats denounced those who refused to obey the law: 'It is revolution, or it is treason,' he cried.[5] Similar Union gatherings met in country towns all over the

[1] *Alexandria Gazette*, Oct. 10, 1850. [2] *Southron*, Oct. 25, 1850.
[3] *Ib.*, Nov. 8, 1850. [4] Wilson, II, 316.
[5] *Ib.*, 317. The speaker was Benjamin F. Hallett.

North. At Belleville, Illinois, 'Union' resolutions were adopted approving the Compromise, demanding cessation of slavery agitation, urging the Legislature to rescind its resolutions in favor of the Wilmot proviso, endorsing the Fugitive Slave Law and pledging 'actual personal effort' to execute it.[1]

Many eminent ministers also sustained the Fugitive Slave Law, the faithful execution of which they associated with the preservation of the Union. At a great Union meeting in New Haven, Dr. Nathaniel Taylor, Principal of the Theological Department of Yale, denied that the Fugitive Slave clause of the Constitution was contrary to the 'will of God.' Rev. Dr. Ichabod Spencer, a Presbyterian clergyman of Brooklyn, unsparingly denounced the Abolitionist clergy. Dr. Orville Dewey, the leading Unitarian preacher of New York, said that he would rather send his own brother or his child into slavery than to see the Union broken up.[2] Under the power of Union sentiment, the abolition frenzy subsided for the moment [3] — but only for the moment.

So the vast majority of the people remained calm, accepted the Compromise, sustained the law, remained faithful to the Government and devoted to the Union. Among them was Lincoln who never was in disagreement with general and settled public opinion. But the abolition assault was quickly renewed and it was so determined, persistent, and sincere that it sensibly influenced common sentiment and made thousands of converts to the anti-slavery cause.

The source of the abolition outburst against the Fugitive Slave Law, against Webster, against the Government, was not only the statute itself, but certain dramatic attempts to execute it in New York, Boston, and Pennsylvania. In one of these a slave owner was killed in an affray with free negroes who were protecting the fugitive; and all the 'recoveries' and 'surrenders' were given wide publicity by the press.[4] These incidents were

[1] *Belleville Advocate*, Nov. 28, 1850. This meeting was typical of thousands.

[2] Wilson, II, 318. Rev. Samuel J. May hotly asserted that not one minister in a hundred ever spoke against slavery or opposed the Fugitive Slave Law. May, 365.

[3] Wilson, II, 320.

[4] For brief and accurate account of these cases, see Channing, VI, 104–12. And see Parker, II, 258–61; Wilson, II, 304–5, 324–36. Of these narratives that of Channing

few in number but each of them was made a striking example of the infamy of the Fugitive Slave Law.

In this fashion was the public mind prepared for a most effective piece of propaganda against slavery and the South. Nine months after the Fugitive Slave Law went into effect and while the country was ringing with denunciations of the first cases of its enforcement, the *National Era*, organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, began the serial publication of a story entitled *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or Life among the Lowly*. The author was Harriet Beecher Stowe, sister of Henry Ward Beecher and Edward Beecher, and wife of a Presbyterian minister and Professor in the Theological Seminary in Andover, Calvin E. Stowe.[1]

The narrative was written with dramatic genius. It was a succession of incidents, each picturesque, some startling. In this fashion the whole abolition argument and appeal was presented. The entire story, or any section of it, could be dramatized and acted with little effort. Characters were so drawn as to give the impression that they were typical. The distinct and emphatic idea thus conveyed to the reader was that, as a class, the slaves were frightfully abused and yearning for freedom; that Southern men, with tepid exceptions, were tyrannical and vile; that, in general, Southern women were incompetent, sluggish, and cruel. While figures were made to appear and things to happen that showed the easier side of slavery, they were subordinated to the drama and were used to make prominent the horrible and the base.

Early in 1852 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published in book form. One hundred thousand copies were sold in two months, and within a year the American public had absorbed three times that number.[2] Not a city, town or village in the North was without it, and it was read even in the South. Book stores in

is the only trustworthy one, since he writes with scholarly detachment and impartiality.

[1] *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe:* Charles Edward Stowe, 148–53, 156.

The materials for the novel were the accounts that had long been printed in abolition pamphlets, especially the collection of *Slavery as it is*, to which reference has been made, together with Mrs. Stowe's observations when her father and husband were stationed at Cincinnati. She also applied to Frederick Douglass for data.

[2] Stowe, 160.

Springfield, Illinois, advertised Mrs. Stowe's novel soon after it was published, and one of the first to buy a copy was Herndon. No positive evidence exists that Lincoln read it, but we know that it was at his hand and that it was often discussed in his hearing.

At any rate, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the literary sensation of the period. It did more to create sentiment against slavery and even more against the South, than all that had been or was to be spoken or written on the subject.[1] In this sense Mrs. Stowe may be said to have been a principal agent in bringing about the Civil War. 'Is this the little woman who made this big war?' asked Lincoln when she went to see the President during that conflict.[2]

Mrs. Stowe's novel was 'rather an event than a book' which had roused 'the world by the vigor and pathos of its appeals,' declared Wendell Phillips, and his hearers responded with 'enthusiastic cheers.' But the way had been prepared for its success, Phillips truthfully said; Mrs. Stowe's book never would have been written or read but for the long years of anti-slavery agitation that had preceded it. 'This effort of genius . . . might have fallen dead and unnoticed in 1835,' he rightly declared. Look at the *White Slave*, Hildreth's great novel, 'born out of due time.'[3] But *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had appeared at the moment of Fate — the Abolitionists had 'made the trembling South demand the Fugitive Slave Law,' and the Fugitive Slave Law had 'provoked Mrs. Stowe to the good work of *Uncle Tom*.'[4] Whittier wrote to Garrison that Mrs. Stowe's book was 'glorious.'[5] In a long review in a Paris journal George Sand concluded that Mrs. Stowe was 'in the true spirit of the word, consecrated.'[6]

Its success abroad was as great as in the United States. The novel was translated into nearly every language spoken in

[1] '*Uncle Tom's Cabin* made the crack of the slavedriver's whip, and the cries of the tortured blacks ring in every household in the land, till human hearts could endure it no longer.' Stowe, 155.

[2] *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, ed. by Annie Fields, 269.

[3] *Speeches and Lectures:* Phillips, 131. [4] *Ib.*, 136.

[5] Whittier to Garrison, May, 1852. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Introduction, xvi, ed. 1882.

[6] *Ib.*, xxviii.

Europe.[1] One edition appeared in Arabic. Four separate versions were published in France, two in Holland, fourteen in Germany; and thirty editions were printed in London alone, in six months during 1852.[2] Even the cautious *Edinburgh Review* declared that 'the sale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is the most marvellous literary phenomenon that the world has witnessed' — it was a 'political pamphlet,' and it had made impossible the complete execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.[3] There can be no possible doubt that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* largely created that European public opinion which was so strong an influence in preventing recognition of the Southern Confederacy by England and France.

The South responded more with contempt than in wrath. In *DeBow's Review*, 'A Southern Woman,' reviewing Mrs. Stowe's *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which appeared a year later than the novel, observed that Mrs. Stowe's books had 'sunk so low,' it was charity to make note of them.[4] The novel was merely an 'accumulation of all the instances that can be found of cruelty or crime among slaveholders,' declared William Gilmore Simms.[5] The *Southern Literary Messenger* reviewed *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, declared the editor, only because 'we may be compelled one day (God grant that day may never come) to repel with the bayonet' the spirit that inspired Mrs. Stowe, unless that spirit were promptly exposed by the pen. But since 'this slanderous work has found its way into every section of our country,' the *Messenger* felt that 'the brand of falsehood must be placed upon it.' Still, perhaps the volume should not be taken too seriously because some of it was so absurd that it 'wouldn't go down as part and parcel of a burnt cork melodrama of the Bowery,' while other portions were not only untrue, but '*impossible*.' If Mrs. Stowe was so fond of the Bible, let her observe the Commandment: 'THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOR.'[6] *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was 'a plot against the peace

[1] Whittier to Garrison, May, 1852. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Introduction, xlii, ed. 1882.

[2] *Critical Dictionary of English Literature:* Samuel Austin Allibone, II, 2278–9.

[3] Reprint of an article in *Edinburgh Review* on 'Slavery in the United States.' London, 1856.

[4] *DeBow's Review*, XV, 486–96. [5] Simms, 217.

[6] *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVIII, 630–8 (Oct., 1852). Capitals in magazine.

of society,' exclaimed a preacher and professor of Annapolis, Rev. E. J. Stearns.[1]

As 'A Carolinian,' Edward Pringle of Charleston wrote a brochure in reply to Mrs. Stowe's narrative which was typical of the Southern attitude toward it. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* would work 'infinite injury,' he said, because it aroused fanaticism in the North and rage in the South. Its imaginary 'horrors' would bring a 'new birth of abolition apostles' and confirm the growing Southern opinion that the whole North had been abolitionized. Pringle had never seen nor heard of such scenes as those portrayed by Mrs. Stowe; but he could not deny any of them, he admitted. The South abhorred the abuses of the slave system far more than she did, he wrote; but Southern people '*knew*' about slavery and she did not, and they knew that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a false picture. 'She has filled her Northern readers with a delusion.' [2]

In spite of Mrs. Stowe's story and the renewal of abolition strivings, the vast majority of the Northern people seemed to be satisfied with the situation and the Nation was in a kind of political apathy when the presidential campaign of 1852 opened. But the sentiment against slavery and hostility to the South were growing in every Northern State. A new party was forming. In Massachusetts, Free-Soilers and Democrats elected Charles Sumner to the Senate — the same combination that had made Chase a Senator in 1849, 'the temporary triumph of a shameful coalition,' said the *Alexandria Gazette*.[3]

[1] *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin:* Rev. E. J. Stearns, A.M., late professor in St. John's College, Annapolis (Philadelphia, 1853), 9.

[2] *Slavery in the Southern States:* A Carolinian [Edward Pringle], Cambridge, 1852. Pringle gave all the Southern arguments for slavery which we have reviewed in Chapter I, stating them with surprising moderation and restraint. He seemed mainly to be depressed by the renewal of sectional animosity which he thought Mrs. Stowe's novel would cause, as Pringle contended, by its untruthful presentment of Southern society. This brochure was first published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, IV, 478.

Two Southern novels of no merit were published in answer to Mrs. Stowe's book, but had little sale and passed with scant notice: *The Cabin, and the Parlor, or Slaves and Masters:* J. Thornton Randolph, Philadelphia, 1852, the author of which claimed that his novel was 'a faithful transcript of real life' and that 'he has himself witnessed all the scenes described,' etc.; and *Life at the South, or Uncle Tom's Cabin as it is:* W. L. G. Smith, Buffalo, 1852. This novel was dedicated to Clay. In his preface the author said that the Southern people considered slavery as 'an heirloom,' which has descended from the 'immortal charter of independence,' etc.

[3] May 15, 1851.

But, in general, the great body of the public was listless. Men were more concerned about economic conditions than over emancipation of slaves, wished more for quiet and prosperity than for upheaval and strife. In this situation we shall now see Lincoln again appear upon the political stage, in a smaller part than he had ever played before. Thereafter we shall behold mighty events burst upon the country and witness the fashion in which Lincoln met them.

CHAPTER III

WESTERN DEVELOPMENT AND SLAVERY

The Nation has passed its perils and it is free, prosperous, and powerful. LINCOLN, July 16, 1852.

We are about to open a new market to the traffickers in flesh that haunt the shambles of the South. SUMNER, in Kansas-Nebraska debate, 1854.

I believe that the passage of this bill is of no practical importance, so far as the slave States are concerned. I support it as a measure of peace. Senator HUNTER of Virginia, in *ib.*

Northern rights and Southern rights! Sir, I know of no such divisions or distinctions under the Constitution. DOUGLAS, in *ib.*

IN no like space of time in American history are the influences that shape public opinion better shown than in the brief period from 1850 to 1854. Moreover, the events of those years were determinative of Lincoln's career. Indeed, but for the last of these events, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it is well-nigh certain that he would have been known only to some thousands in Illinois and to them merely as a circuit-riding lawyer, local politician, and stump speaker. No detail, therefore, of that epochal circumstance or the steps that led to it, can be omitted in the narrative of Lincoln's public life.

'Repeal! Repeal! Repeal!' Everywhere throughout the North during 1851 that was the incessant cry of opponents of the Fugitive Slave Law. Illinois as a whole, however, was not keenly responsive to the anti-slavery movement;[1] but even there, and especially in the northern part of the State, many meetings were held, fiery speeches made, angry resolutions adopted.[2] The press, too, was emphatic and Chicago papers

[1] Most people, in the North, particularly in the Mississippi Valley, were apathetic on slavery and opposed to the agitation of it. 'Had I been in Congress I think I should have voted . . . for the fugitive slave law. . . . We know it cannot be repealed, and an attempt to do it must only produce agitation. . . . These . . . are the sentiments of the great body of the people. They do not wish this slavery agitation. They consider the [Wilmot] proviso as a humbug, as it most certainly is, however humiliating it may be to make that confession after having cheered it, spoken for it, and voted for it, as I admit I have.' Private letter of a Whig member of the Ohio Legislature, printed, with approval, in the Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 8, 1851.

[2] *Western Citizen*, July 15, Aug. 5, Sept. 30, Oct. 28, etc., of meetings and resolutions in different places.

were particularly clamorous. Abolitionists, Free-Soilers, and anti-slavery people generally ignored the fact that the Fugitive Slave Law was a vital part of the Great Compromise.

In this evolution of sentiment Lincoln took no part. As he afterward declared, he was against the abrogation of that tempest-arousing statute. This, indeed, was the prevailing view of central and southern Illinois at that time; and, as we have seen, Lincoln almost perfectly reflected public opinion. His only misinterpretation of sentiment at home was his attitude toward the Mexican War while in Congress, and he was in that but supporting the national party program; but not again did he fail to express dominant popular thought and feeling. He neither led nor retarded mass movements, but accurately registered them. In short, Lincoln was the spokesman of the people. So it came about that he was 'available' when, at a critical hour, a new party sought for a presidential candidate.

In the free States, court after court, State and Federal, upheld the Fugitive Slave Law and urged obedience to it.[1] But the agitation grew. Several Northern Legislatures passed resolutions insisting on the overthrow of the Act which had been and was the heart of the adjustment of 1850. Old line Whigs, like Lincoln, disapproved this crusade against the statute, and his favorite paper, the *National Intelligencer*, rebuked it as a 'crime quite equal . . . to . . . Secession.'[2]

With the exception of Mississippi and South Carolina, the South, as a section, was slow to take the alarm. Those States,

[1] For example: Sup. Court, Mass., in unanimous opinion by Chief Justice Shaw, *in re* petition of Thos. Sims for writ of habeas corpus. *National Intelligencer*. May 10, 1851.

Justice Nelson of the U.S. Supreme Court in charge to New York Grand Jury. *Ib.*, April 19, 1851.

Justice McLean of U.S. Supreme Court in charge to Ohio Grand Jury. *Ib.*, Nov. 8, 1851.

[2] Weekly *National Intelligencer*, April 12, 1851, quoting, with approval, the *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, April 7, denouncing Massachusetts agitators who '*plot treason, talk treason, and would act treason if they dared.*'

During April, 1851, the *National Intelligencer* published three articles by Dr. Daniel Drake of Cincinnati, the physician to whom Lincoln had written the mysterious letter ten years before. Dr. Drake insisted that Northern States ought to prohibit free negroes from living within or even passing through them, and that the slave states should forbid emancipation of slaves except on the condition that they would not go to the free states. Drake to Dr. John C. Warren, Dec. 26, 31, 1850, and Jan. 4, 1851, in Weekly *National Intelligencer*, April 5, 12, 1851.

however, were prompt and vigorous. In the early winter of 1850 their Legislatures provided for the election of delegates to another Southern Convention to consider Southern interests and the maintenance of 'Southern rights.' [1]

But the remainder of the South was cold to secession proposals. Georgia expressed the general feeling and opinion in the famous 'Georgia Platform,' adopted by the Union Convention held at the State capital in December, 1850. This assembly declared for peace and union on the basis of the Great Compromise and particularly on the observance of the Fugitive Slave Law.

In a long Union editorial, the national Whig organ applauded the pronouncement of the Georgia Convention. That State 'has decisively repelled the tempter,' exclaimed the *National Intelligencer;* — South Carolina was 'actually attempting a *DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.*' [2] Feverishly the great Whig journal insisted upon quiet and fraternal sentiment.[3] Those former political enemies, Cobb and Toombs, wrote strong Union letters in support of the Georgia platform and in scathing rebuke of Southern and Northern fanatics alike who, they declared, were working to the destruction of the Republic.[4]

'*If* VIRGINIA *shall lead*,' Langdon Cheves of South Carolina had said to the Nashville Convention of 1850, 'I have not the least apprehension that any blood will be spilt.' [5] Virginia would not lead then, and now, by a vote of one hundred and ten to one, her Legislature adopted fervent Union resolutions against the rash action of South Carolina. She condemned the slavery agitation, declared for that institution, and asserted that any interference with it would destroy harmony between the sections.[6] Mississippi hastened to repudiate her disunion avowals of a few months earlier and took her stand alongside

[1] Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 4, 1851. [2] *Ib.*, Jan. 4, 11, 1851.

[3] *Ib.*, Dec. 3, 1850, Feb. 15, 1851.

[4] Cobb to A. H. Chappel *et al.* (Committee), Feb. 17, 1851; Toombs to same, Feb. 15, 1851. Weekly *National Intelligencer*, March 22, 1851.

[5] Weekly *National Intelligencer*, April 5, 1851.

[6] *Ib.*, March 29, 1851. Fourth of July toasts in Virginia were hotly pro-Union, while those in South Carolina were as emphatically anti-Union. *Ib.*, July 12, 1851, giving examples.

Virginia and Georgia.[1] South Carolina, however, stood by her guns and prepared for war.[2]

Throughout 1851 the assault on the Fugitive Slave Law continued all over the North and the excitement was increased by two notable and highly picturesque cases.[3] Just before Congress met in December, 1851, the first blood was shed in the attempt to recover escaping slaves under the new law — the owner was killed and his son wounded by a band of runaway negroes in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, with whom the fugitive had taken refuge.[4]

So it came about that when the Thirty-second Congress convened, Southern Senators and Representatives were angry and alarmed. Those who had declared for the Union and rebuked secessionists were chagrined, despondent, resentful. The Fugitive Slave Law was the one substantial and practical concession which the South had secured in the Compromise of 1850. Yet, they said, Legislatures of Northern States had actually passed laws in defiance of it and in contempt of national authority; abolition lecturers and speakers, swarming over the North, were fulminating against it; and here were Southern men murdered and wounded in a Northern State by slaves who had been 'enticed' to leave their masters.

The Union men of the South in Congress determined that their section must be reassured of the good faith of the Great Compromise. On the second day of the session Senator Foote of Mississippi gave notice that he would offer a joint resolution that the 'measures of adjustment, so-called,' of 1850 were to be

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 32nd Cong. 1st Sess., xxiv, Pt. 1, 35–6. Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 29, 1851.

[2] Toward the end of 1851 that State contracted for arms and munitions, all to be furnished by May, 1853. *Ib.*, Dec. 20, 1853.

Nevertheless there was a strong unionist sentiment in South Carolina. Joel R. Poinsett publicly denounced secession talk. *Ib.*, March 22, 1851.

[3] That of Shadrach [Frederick Jenkins] in Boston, Feb., 1851. Shadrach was arrested and imprisoned, but was forcibly released by a mob of free negroes and escaped to Canada. Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 22, 1851.

The case of Thomas Sims, Boston, April, 1851. Sims was heavily guarded, adjudged a runaway slave, and delivered by armed officers to his owner. Much has been made of this case. Phillips delivered two of his strongest speeches with it as his subject. *Speeches and Lectures:* Phillips, 55–97.

[4] Channing, vi, 106–7.

considered a 'definitive settlement of the questions growing out of the system of domestic slavery.' [1]

Upon this proposal a gusty and intermittent debate sprang up. Factious politicians were wrecking the Great Compromise, said Southern Unionists; Northern and Southern radicals were again arousing sectionalism; nationalists of the South were being assailed by secessionists, whose weapons were inflammatory speeches and editorials from the North, especially those against the Fugitive Slave Law. In the North 'ferocious and bloody scenes' had occurred, and that, too, under deplorable instigation; in the South malcontents were spreading the report that the North actually intended to exclude slavery from 'our vacant Territories.' So Congress must assert that the arrangement of 1850 was definitive and slavery agitation must be stopped.[2]

Instantly and with much heat Southern extremists who, like Northern extremists, had opposed the Compromise, resisted Foote's proposal. Not by a vote of the Senate could he be made to 'kiss the rod of oppression,' cried Senator Andrew Pickens Butler of South Carolina.[3] Away with Compromises that violated the Constitution and sacrificed Southern rights! Only Southern solidarity could assure Southern safety. Foote's resolution was worse than futile; if passed, it would merely 'let loose . . . the waters of agitation.' [4]

Rhett said that he cared not when he should be called a secessionist, for, he exclaimed, 'I say that I am one now.' [5] A State had a right to secede, and secession was not treason. What was that crime? It was the violation of allegiance to a

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 32nd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIV, Pt. I, 12.

[2] Foote's speech, Dec. 8, 1851. *Cong. Globe*, 32nd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIV, Pt. I, 35–6.

[3] Butler was the son of William Butler of Columbia, South Carolina, who served with gallantry and distinction under Lincoln, Pickens, Greene, Lee, and Sumter in the Revolution. The Butler family was one of the most respected in the South and was very proud of its traditions.

It was Senator Butler whom Sumner assailed in his speech in the Senate in 1856, an incident that led to the physical assault on Sumner by Preston Brooks, a relative of Butler. Although only fifty-five years of age in 1851, his hair was snow-white and he was otherwise aged in appearance.

[4] *Cong. Globe*, 32nd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIV, Pt. I, 36.

[5] *Ib.*, XXV, Appendix, 61.

sovereign. Who was that sovereign, the State or the Nation — 'it is a question upon which bayonets may be crossed and blood may be spilled.' [1] In an impassioned reply a month later, Clemens of Alabama called Rhett a 'coward,' 'knave,' and 'traitor.' [2]

Talk in lobbies and on the streets was excited and forbidding. At a crowded Congressional banquet on Washington's birthday Toombs, in a fervid and brilliant speech, brought the throng huzzahing to its feet by declaring that, while he was for the Union, it could not stand a day and ought not to stand an hour if the Federal Government tried to control the internal policy of the States.[3]

Not long after this explosion of banquet sentiment, the State Convention of South Carolina formally asserted 'her right, without let, hindrance, or molestation from any power whatsoever, to secede from the said Federal Union,' claimed that she had ample justification for doing so, and 'that she forbears the exercise of that manifest right of self-government from considerations of expediency only.' [4] The organ of the Illinois Democracy (and well-nigh Douglas's mouthpiece) urged the National Government to act as Jackson had done — 'the Union must be preserved against all traitorous disunionists both North and South.' [5]

Thus from what was said and done, in and out of Congress, as the session wore on, two vital facts clearly emerged. If tranquillity was to be restored and maintained, the Compromise of 1850 must be reaffirmed and the dispute over slavery banished from Congress forever. While Foote's resolution never came to a vote, the discussion of it brought to a head the sentiment that shaped the platforms of political parties in the presidential contest of 1852.

On June 1 of that year, the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore. The attendance was unusually large, for all members of the party felt that a crisis was at hand. By March 28 Washington was 'thronged almost to suffocation' by dele-

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 32nd Cong. 1st Sess., xxv, Appendix, 47. [2] *Ib.*, xxiv, Pt. 1, 647.
[3] Weekly *National Intelligencer*, March 20, 1852.
[4] *Ib.*, May 8, 1852. [5] *Illinois State Register*, March 5, 1852.

gates on their way to Baltimore.[1] Southern Whigs, like Toombs, decided to support the Democratic nominee if, in the Democratic platform, the Compromise of 1850 was endorsed as a finality.[2] But they were fearful that Douglas would be chosen.[3] They found it hard to support that vigorous Democrat, just as Northern Democrats in the Legislature of Illinois, less than three years later, refused to support Lincoln because he was a Whig, notwithstanding the fact that they heartily agreed with him on the crowning issue of the day.

The proceedings were stormy. South Carolina sent no delegates.[4] For days the Convention planned and wrangled. Finally, when the balloting for the Presidential candidate began, twenty votes were cast for Douglas. On the thirty-first ballot, he received ninety-two votes. Some thought that the brilliant young leader [5] would be chosen. But, on the thirty-fifth ballot, Virginia entered a 'dark Horse,' General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, by throwing fifteen votes to him; [6] and on the forty-ninth ballot, the Convention broke for him amid the customary tremendous cheering, nominating him by a practically unanimous vote.[7] Instantly Douglas congratulated the Convention and 'the Democratic party. . . . Illinois will give Franklin

[1] Thos. D. Harris to Cobb, May 28, 1852. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 298.

[2] Toombs was certain that this would be done. 'The Democratic convention will unquestionably adopt the Compromise by a great majority. It will be full, fair, and explicit. . . . Even the fire-eaters are whipped on this point.' Toombs to Cobb, May 27, 1852. *Ib.*, 297–8.

[3] 'Douglas is not much spoken of; but I shall be afraid to the last lest he be nominated.' Thos. D. Harris to Cobb, May 28, 1852. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 298–9. 'Today [December, 1851] Douglas has by far the best chance of a nomination.' Greeley writing from Washington in New York *Tribune*, as quoted in *Ottawa Free Trader*, Dec. 27, 1851.

Douglas himself was very active. 'Prospects look well and are improving every day. If two or three western States will speak out in my favor the battle is over.' Let Illinois send a big delegation. Yet only eleven delegates from Illinois attended. *Douglas:* Johnson, 203–4.

[4] *National Intelligencer*, June 12, 1852. Wilson, II, 364–6.

[5] Douglas was then thirty-nine years old. [6] *National Intelligencer*, June 12, 1852.

[7] *Ib.* He received 282 votes to six for all others. The *Illinois State Register* throughout the year printed extracts from Democratic papers and accounts of Democratic meetings for Douglas.

When Douglas was not nominated, the Whig press tried the familiar device of arousing the anger of his friends: 'The friends of Judge Douglas are deeply disappointed;' and no wonder, for Douglas was a fine man. *Illinois Journal*, June 7, 1852.

'We heard more hard swearing and saw more wry faces among Democrats than it has

Pierce a larger majority than any other State in the Union.' [1] William R. King of Alabama was chosen as the candidate for Vice President.

The platform was made up of several planks from former party pronouncements, and declared for economy, against monopolies, against a National Bank, and against laws hindering foreigners from becoming citizens and land owners. The doctrine of States' rights was affirmed, Abolitionists were denounced by name as enemies of the Union and of public peace, and the Compromise of 1850 was endorsed, including specifically the Fugitive Slave Law. The party pledged itself to 'resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.' [2]

Ten days after the Democratic Convention adjourned, the Whigs met at the same place. Even before they assembled, watchful politicians declared it to be 'a fixed fact' that General Winfield Scott would be nominated.[3] The prediction was fulfilled, but only after a prolonged struggle, the South voting steadily for Fillmore. Scott was chosen on the fifty-third ballot by one hundred and fifty-nine votes, an even dozen more than were necessary to a choice. William A. Graham of North Carolina was named for Vice President.[4]

While Lincoln wrote the call for the Illinois Whig State Convention in December, 1851,[5] it is not certain that he attended the National Whig Convention. But his friend, Elihu B. Washburne, was there.[6] Also, through conference and correspondence

ever been our fate to hear and see before. It was "terrible to behold."' *Jacksonville Constitutionalist*, June 12, 1852.

[1] *Douglas:* Johnson, 205. [2] McKee, 75–7.

[3] George W. Jones to Cobb, Washington, June 13, 1852. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 301–2.

'The Scott men are very confident. . . . I have kept quiet in order not to alarm the scoundrels [Southern Fillmore Whigs, who might go to Scott], that they may carry out their treachery. . . . Scott's nomination cannot embarrass us. . . . That of Fillmore, with a reputation in favor of the Compromise, would.' Toombs to Cobb, May 27, 1852. *Ib.*, 297–8.

[4] The Southern Whigs were for Fillmore. *National Intelligencer*, July 10, 1852.

[5] *Works*, II, 154. This call was signed by a large number of Whigs, among them being Stuart, Gillespie, Washburne, and Browning. Lincoln's name heads the list.

[6] Washburne's speech in the House, April 5, 1854. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 462.

with active Whig politicians all over the country during the Taylor campaign, Lincoln was better known to members of the Convention than any other Whig in Illinois, was recognized as a practical politician, skilled and resourceful in the art of political management. So he was made the Illinois member of the National Whig Committee[1] and served throughout the campaign of 1852.

Except in its declarations for internal improvements and a protective tariff, the Whig platform was almost a copy of that adopted by the Democrats. It, too, declared for States' rights, economy, and the Compromise of 1850 which, the platform asserted, was a 'settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions' arising from slavery. 'We deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled as dangerous to our peace . . . and we will maintain the system [Compromise of 1850] as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union.' The Fugitive Slave Law was endorsed by name.[2]

While the Whigs were thus duplicating the Democratic pronouncement on slavery and the Great Compromise, a grim event was happening forty miles away. In his room at the National Hotel at Washington, Henry Clay lay dying. Only his son and a negro servant were at his bedside. Cheers for Scott, when the capital learned of his nomination, disturbed the stricken old leader.[3] Hardly had the Whig delegates from distant States reached their homes, when news of his death flashed over the country. Everywhere bells tolled and flags hung at half mast. Not since the death of Washington had mourning been so general and poignant; it was more widespread even than the sorrow that followed that of Marshall.

For weeks memorial meetings were held and orations delivered throughout the whole Nation. On July 16 the citizens

[1] *National Intelligencer*, June 26, 1852.

[2] McKee, 77–80. The Whig platform was reported by George Ashmun of Massachusetts (*National Intelligencer*, June 26, 1852), Lincoln's associate in the House, who was to be Chairman of the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1860 that nominated Lincoln for President. The plank approving the Fugitive Slave Law was said to have been written by Webster. Wilson, II, 368.

[3] Poore, I, 418–9.

of Springfield gathered at the State House to do honor to the memory of the dead statesman, and Lincoln addressed them upon the life and character of the hero of his youth and the idol of his young manhood. This speech is worthy of mention only because Lincoln delivered it, and because it reveals, vaguely and without emphasis, his opinions on slavery more than twenty years after the abolition assault began.

'The nation has passed its perils, and it is free, prosperous, and powerful,' he began. The sectional dispute of 1820, adjusted by the Missouri Compromise, 'sprang from that unfortunate source of discord — negro slavery. . . . This alarmed thinking men more than any previous question, because, unlike all the former, it divided the country by geographical lines.'

Lincoln quoted most of Jefferson's famous letter on the Missouri controversy: 'I considered it at once as the knell of the Union.' But thanks to 'his inventive genius,' said Lincoln, Clay had found a way out. Thereafter everybody regarded him 'as the man for a crisis.' So it was that, in 1850, Clay became the architect of the Great Compromise.

Although himself a slave-holder, Clay always had opposed slavery 'on principle and in feeling;' but, declared Lincoln, 'he did not perceive, as I think no wise man has perceived, how it could be at once eradicated without producing a greater evil even to the cause of human liberty itself.' So Clay had been against both extremes.

This, too, was his own position, Lincoln said. 'Those who would shiver into fragments the Union of these States, tear to tatters its now venerated Constitution, and even burn the last copy of the Bible, rather than slavery should continue a single hour, together with all their more halting sympathizers, have received, and are receiving, their just execration; and the name and opinions and influence of Mr. Clay are fully and, as I trust, effectually and enduringly arrayed against them.'

But severe as Lincoln was upon Abolitionists, he was no less so 'against the opposite extreme — against a few but an increasing number of men who, for the sake of perpetuating slavery, are beginning to assail and to ridicule the white man's

charter of freedom, the declaration that "all men are created free and equal."' Calhoun was the first to do this, Lincoln averred, and the allegation had been reiterated by the Governor of South Carolina. 'We, however, look for and are not much shocked by political eccentricities and heresies in South Carolina.'

Lincoln quoted from a published letter of a Virginia clergyman who said the 'free and equal' clause of the Declaration of Independence was not in the Bible — the minister had 'never seen two men of whom it is true.' Such a sentiment 'sounds strangely in Republican America,' exclaimed Lincoln. 'The like was not heard in the fresher days of the republic.' Contrast it with Clay's speech to the Colonization Society in 1827. That organization did not propose to abolish slavery, but only to send free negroes to Liberia; yet the movement toward 'ultimate emancipation' could not be suppressed. Clay 'considered it no demerit in the society that it tended to relieve the slaveholders from the troublesome presence of the free negroes.'

Clay's assertion that 'there is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence,' pleased Lincoln. The negroes would take with them 'religion, civilization, law, and liberty,' Clay had said, and thus 'transform an original crime into a signal blessing.'

Lincoln thought that idea very fine. 'May it indeed be realized.' If 'by any means,' he added, the country could be relieved of 'the dangerous presence of slavery, and at the same time, the negroes could be restored to their long-lost fatherland with bright prospects for the future, and this too so gradually that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation.' [1]

His views thus expressed on abolitionism, slavery, and the exportation of free negroes to Africa, and his duty discharged to the memory of the great Whig leader, Lincoln turned with a strange and curious eagerness to politics. Without issues between the two old parties and with a military 'hero' as the presidential candidate of each of them, the campaign languor-

[1] *Works*, II, 155–77.

ously began.[1] Many Illinois Whigs were dissatisfied with the Baltimore platform and proposed to repudiate it at the State Convention held early in July. But the leaders decreed that it must be accepted, Fugitive Slave Law plank and all; and, accordingly, Lincoln's partner introduced a resolution of endorsement.[2]

On July 9 Douglas spoke at a Democratic ratification meeting at Richmond, held in the African Church, the largest hall in the Virginia Capital. He made a rousing stump speech three hours long, to a crowd that filled floor, galleries, aisles, doors, and windows. Applause, laughter, cheers greeted every point, almost every sentence.[3] Since Lincoln made answer to it, in the strangest written and published utterance of his life, Douglas's Richmond performance requires brief notice.

Pierce was brave and patriotic, the Whigs were base and craven for insinuating that he was a coward, Douglas said. Scott was a fine soldier, but why 'CONVERT A GOOD GENERAL INTO A BAD PRESIDENT?' His nomination was sectional, for half of the States in the Whig Convention voted against him more than fifty times — an ominous circumstance, the first sectional choice of a presidential candidate ever made.

The Whigs had stolen from the Democrats the plank on slavery, and in his letter of acceptance Scott had faced two ways upon it: 'I accept the nomination *with* the resolutions annexed.' At the South Whigs could say that their candidate accepted *with* his 'approval' of the platform; at the North that he accepted '*notwithstanding*' the platform. 'General Seward,' not General Scott must have devised that crooked language. Think, too, of the extravagance of the Whig Administration, its ineptitude, its weakness. Taylor's death was providential. Fillmore was no statesman. Scott was even worse.

When Douglas closed, 'tremendous and long-continued applause' rang through the African Church and out upon the streets of Richmond, a vote of thanks was given, and the meet-

[1] Nathaniel Hawthorne, a college classmate of Pierce, wrote a campaign *Life* of Pierce and Greeley did the same thing for Scott. Both were commonplace.

[2] *Illinois State Register*, July 15, 1852.

[3] *Washington Union*, July 18, 1852.

ing was adjourned with nine rousing cheers for 'THE YOUNG GIANT OF THE WEST.'[1]

Douglas's speech, with inserts of 'great cheering,' 'tremendous applause,' and the like, was printed in the *Illinois State Register* which proclaimed it as 'the Great Richmond Speech of Judge Douglas.' Lincoln read it and at the first opportunity answered it. So impatient was he, indeed, that he asked the Scott Club of Springfield to let him make reply to the Democratic chieftain. This organization was like the Taylor Club which Lincoln had directed Herndon to organize in the previous campaign.

On Saturday night, August 14, 1852, the Scott Club held one of its infrequent meetings; and, after another speaker, Tompkins Bush, who had been invited to speak, had excused himself because of illness, Lincoln proceeded to address his fellow partisans in the Court House, which was dimly illuminated by the half-light of tallow candles.

It was at his 'own special request,' began Lincoln, that the Club had given him permission to speak. The Richmond speech reminded Lincoln of former times 'when Judge Douglas was not so much greater man than all the rest of us, as he now is,' and Lincoln wanted so much to answer it that, he repeated, he was 'prompted . . . to seek the privilege' of doing so before the Scott Club.

Lincoln summarized Douglas's charges and said that he had more than insinuated that Seward controlled Scott and 'that abolitionism is controlling the whole Whig party' — an intolerable suggestion. The attempt to exalt the Democratic candidate as a military hero was 'simply ludicrous,' considering his record; and 'the free merry people of the country have laughed at it, and will continue to laugh at it, in spite of the querulous scolding of Judge Douglas.'

The Whigs had not stolen the Democratic plank on slavery. 'I had understood and now understand, as the indelibly written history of the country, that the compromise measures [of 1850] were not party measures — that for praise or blame, they be-

[1] *Richmond Enquirer*, July 11; *Washington Union*, July 18; *Illinois State Register*, Aug. 5, 1852. Also pamphlet, Richmond, 1852.

longed to neither party to the exclusion of the other; but that the chief leaders in the origin and adoption were Whigs and not Democrats.' Clay was the originator, and he and Webster the 'most efficient supporters' of the Compromise.

Douglas had been assailed in Chicago in the fall of 1850, Lincoln said, but had made a speech there which 'gave him a triumph most complete.' Lincoln had twice read that speech of Douglas, hastily, he admitted; and 'I do not now remember seeing anything in it to condemn. . . . The reading of it afforded me a good deal of pleasure, . . . if he had stolen none of the ideas of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, and other Whigs, which he had been listening to for the last preceding six or eight months, he might not have been able to get up quite so creditable a speech at Chicago as he did.' [1]

Scott's nomination was not sectional, as Douglas had charged, because, Lincoln argued, even if Southern delegates did 'not vote for Scott, does it follow, in the sense the Judge would have us to understand, that they voted against Scott? If so, then, by the same rule, in the Democratic Convention every delegation, North and South, voted against Gen. Pierce thirty-four times.' This argument was repeated and prolonged; and Lincoln made a mathematical analysis of votes on platform and candidates in the Whig Convention, to refute Douglas's assertion.

'What wonderful acumen the Judge displays on the construction of language!!!' Lincoln exclaimed, in ridicule of Douglas's reference to Scott's inept letter of acceptance. 'When the builders of the tower of Babel got into difficulty about language,

[1] Douglas's Chicago speech of 1850, which Lincoln thus endorsed so emphatically, was made to a hostile audience. He championed the right of the people of the Territories to decide for themselves all domestic questions including that of slavery; and he made many of the same arguments advanced by him in the Kansas-Nebraska debate described in this chapter.

But by far the greater part of Douglas's speech was a defence — indeed an advocacy — of the Fugitive Slave Law. At the close of his address the audience, without a dissenting vote adopted resolutions in favor of the Constitution, the Compromise of 1850, and particularly the Fugitive Slave Law.

Next night the Chicago Common Council, by a vote of twelve to one, rescinded its resolution against the Fugitive Slave Law; and at its first session thereafter, the Legislature of Illinois repealed its instructions to Douglas and Shields to oppose the bill.

For Douglas's Chicago speech of 1850, resolutions adopted by the meeting, and action of the City Council, see Flint (speeches), 3–30; Sheahan, 168–86.

if they had just called on Judge Douglas, he would, at once, have construed away the difficulty, and enabled them to finish the structure, upon the truly Democratic platform on which they were building.' By the Douglas method Moses' statement that 'Enoch walked *with* God,' would mean that Enoch walked 'notwithstanding God.' Imagine Douglas analyzing that statement in Richmond; he would 'thrill, and electrify, and throw into spasms of ecstasy his African Church auditors by suggesting that such monstrous duplicity could not have been conceived by Enoch or Moses, but must have been dictated by Gen. Seward!!!'

Spoken in Lincoln's thin falsetto voice and quizzical manner, the official minutes of the meeting inform us that such passages 'elicited shouts of laughter.' When Lincoln made an end of the first half of his speech, the Club adjourned, 'with three loud cheers for Scott and Graham,' to meet two weeks later and hear the remainder of Lincoln's exposure of Douglas.[1]

During that fortnight the Springfield and Chicago papers printed full accounts of the most important event, historically speaking, that took place in America in the summer of 1852, but which both old parties, particularly the Whigs, ignored. That event was the National Free-Soil Democratic Convention held at Pittsburgh August 11. The Chairman, Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, made an abolition speech: 'Hasten the day when the humblest slave . . . can stand up and say, "I am a man, a brother, a freeman."' [2] John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian of Indiana were nominated as the Free-Soil standard bearers. Amid storms of cheers the Free-Soilers adopted their party creed. This platform was written by Chase.[3] It had in it the ring of the Declaration of Independence and announced principles which were to prevail only at the cost of civil war.

Nobody was bound to observe the Fugitive Slave Law, the Free-Soilers asserted, since it was repugnant to the Constitution, to Christianity, and to the common law. Yet it must be repealed immediately. The 'Compromise' of 1850 was no com-

[1] *Illinois Weekly Journal*, Aug. 18, 1852. [2] Wilson, II, 373.

[3] *Private Life and Public Services of Salmon P. Chase:* Robert B. Warden, 338.

promise at all. For it was wrong and futile, especially in its enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law and its 'omission to guarantee freedom to the territories' — an important assertion, as will presently appear. It was un-American and 'dangerous to the liberties of the people' to say that any legislation was final, as the Whig and Democratic platforms claimed the Compromise of 1850 to be — a statement, the sincerity of which Douglas was soon to test.

The Free-Soil answer to the demands of the 'Slave Power' was: 'No more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.' For, asserted those determined enthusiasts of freedom, 'slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, . . . and Christianity, humanity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition.' The party adopted Sumner's motto: 'Slavery is sectional and freedom national.' The General Government must have nothing to do with the accursed institution.

Not only must men be free but the soil also; for 'all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil' — a right which is 'as sacred as their right to life itself.' Therefore the public domain must not be sold to individuals nor bestowed upon corporations,[1] but instead 'granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.'

The old parties were 'hopelessly corrupt' and the Free-Soilers intended to beat them both. In a sentence like the blast of bugles sounding the charge, they again condensed their principles of 1848: 'We inscribe on our banner, Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.' [2]

Here, at last, was an issue indeed, an issue that later flamed to the skies. But Whigs and Democrats alike were blind to it.

[1] Meaning land grants to railroads.

[2] *History of the Presidency*, Stanwood, 253–6; McKee, 80–3. The Free-Soilers also favored arbitration treaties for the settlement of international disputes, recognition of the independence of Haiti, and insisted upon American protest against the 'intervention of Kings and Emperors' to prevent the establishment of republics.

This pronouncement was in response to the appeals of Kossuth, who was then touring the United States demanding American support of the Hungarian revolution — an incident that aroused great resentment and brought out heated and able speeches in Congress. See *Cong. Globe*, 32nd Cong. 1st Sess.

Springfield was oblivious to it. Except for Herndon and a few like radicals, nobody in the Illinois capital paid any attention to the Free-Soil declaration, unless, indeed, a disgusted old line partisan sneered or swore at it.

In this political situation and state of local public temper, Lincoln returned to his attack on Douglas. On the night of August 25, the Scott Club again met in the Court House and Lincoln delivered the second half of his carefully prepared speech.

He took a good deal of time in reply to Douglas as to the relative merits of Scott and Pierce, with a fling at Shields. The Democrats praised Pierce for having 'given a strange boy a cent to buy candy with.' What generosity! When seventeen years old Pierce had taught his father how to spell the word 'but.' How else would the 'old dad' have spelled that difficult word? Then Lincoln emitted a passage which is typical of his campaign method in his forty-fourth year, and which, although exaggerated stump buffoonery, is a clever if coarse satire on the pomposity of frontier militia musters.

The Democrats 'remember how our own "militia trainings" have been "laughed to death" by fantastic parades and caricatures upon them. We remember one of these parades ourselves here, at the head of which, on horse-back, figured our old friend Gordon Abrams, with a pine-wood sword, about nine feet long, and a paste-board cocked hat, from front to rear about the length of an ox-yoke, and very much the shape of one turned bottom upwards; and with spurs having rowels as large as the bottom of a teacup, and shanks a foot and a half long. That was the last militia muster here. Among the rules and regulations, no man is to wear more than five pounds of cod-fish for epaulets, or more than thirty yards of bologna sausages for a sash; and no two men are to dress alike, and if any two should dress alike the one that dresses most alike is to be fined. (I forget how much.) Flags they had too, with devices and mottoes, one of which latter is, "We'll fight till we run, and we'll run till we die."

'Now in the language of Judge Douglas, "I submit to you gentlemen," whether there is not great cause to fear that on

some occasion when Gen. Scott suspects no danger, suddenly Gen. Pierce will be discovered charging upon him, holding a huge roll of candy in one hand for a spy-glass; with B–U–T labelled on some appropriate part of his person; with Abrams' long pine sword cutting in the air at imaginary cannon balls, and calling out "boys there's a game of ball for you" and over all streaming the flag, with the motto, 'We'll fight till we faint, and I'll treat when its over."'

The Club thought this vastly funny and laughed uproariously, we are told.

Douglas, Lincoln continued, looked upon Taylor's death as 'a special interference of Providence, against the people, and in favor of Locofocoism.[1] . . . I suspect that confidence [in Providence] is not more firmly fixed with the Judge than it was with the old woman, whose horse ran away with her in a buggy. She said she trusted in Providence till the britchen broke; and then she didn't know what on airth *to* do. The chance is the Judge will see the breechen (*sic*) break [by Scott's election], and then he can at his leisure, bewail the fate of Locofocoism, as the victim of misplaced confidence.'

For several hundred words Lincoln replied to Douglas's contemptuous reference to Fillmore. 'O ho! Judge; it is you, is it, that thinks a man should furnish *proofs of superiority of statesmanship*, before he is looked to as a candidate for the first office?' Well, what proofs had Frank Pierce shown? The fact that Fillmore had 'done no harm' ought to please Douglas — for look at the Democratic platform. It proposed nothing at all, except to raise enough money by a revenue tariff to pay official salaries, 'including perhaps, constructive mileage to Senators.'

But 'propose a course of policy that shall ultimately supplant the monstrous folly of bringing untold millions of iron, thousands of miles across water and land, which [when] our own hills and mountains are groaning with the best quality in the world, and in quantity sufficient for ten such worlds, and the cry instantly is "no." Propose to remove a snag, a rock, or a sand bar from a lake or river, and the cry still is "no."'

[1] A name applied in 1835 to the equal rights or radical faction of the Democratic Party in New York and afterwards used generally to describe any Democrat.

Lincoln read from a 'democratic Battle Hymn' which he said he had seen in 'a dirty little democratic issue:'

> 'Sturdy and strong, we march along,
> Millions on millions of freemen bold;
> Raising the dead, with our iron tread —
> The noble dead, of the days of old!'

Let the poet tell the people whether, among those '"noble dead" . . . there were any from the hulls of flats and keels, and brigs, and steam boats, which had gone to the bottom on questions of constitutionality.'

The *National Intelligencer*, said Lincoln, was 'a paper which is not often misled and never intentionally misleads others,' and he quoted a great deal from the national Whig organ to show that public expenditures under the Whig administration had not been as large as Douglas had asserted: 'Judge Douglas is only mistaken about twenty-five millions of dollars — a mere trifle for a giant!'

The Democrats would not tell the real reason for their hatred of Seward. The only specific charge made against him was his announced doctrine of a 'higher law.' Lincoln had not read that speech, he said, and could not 'judge its import and purpose' — so he could only say this: 'In so far as it [Seward's higher law pronouncement] may attempt to foment a disobedience to the Constitution, or to the Constitutional laws of the country, it has my unqualified condemnation.'

But said Lincoln, the real cause of Democratic animosity toward Seward was that the Whig leader might carry New York for Scott. The Free-Soil organization was now broken up, and its votes 'are the stakes for which the game in New York is being played. If Scott can get nine thousand of them he carries the State, and is elected;' while Pierce must get nearly all in order to win. 'Standing in the way of this Seward is thought to be the greatest obstacle. . . . Hence their [Democrats'] insane malice against him.' [1]

This, too, Lincoln said, explained the nomination of Pierce. According to two newspaper reports, never denied by the Demo-

[1] The Democrats called Seward the 'Field Marshall of the Scott Forces.' *Washington Union*, Oct. 3, 1852.

cratic candidate, Pierce had declared publicly some six months before the Convention his loathing for the Fugitive Slave Law. Of course the delegates knew this, and that was why they chose Pierce — to capture the Free-Soil vote of New York.

Lincoln closed his long and elaborate reply to Douglas thus: 'Why, Pierce's only chance for the presidency, is to be born into it, as a cross between New York old hunkerism, and free soilism, the latter predominating in the offspring. Marryat, in some one of his books, describes the sailors, weighing anchor, and singing:

"Sally is a bright Mullatter,
Oh Sally Brown —
Pretty gal, but can't get at her,
Oh Sally Brown."

'Now, should Pierce ever be President, he will, politically speaking, not only be a mulatto; but he will be a good deal darker one than Sally Brown.' [1]

The minutes of the Scott Club, August 25, 1852, make note that Lincoln concluded on that night and that the Club asked him 'to prepare a copy of his speech for publication. . . . Adjourned with three deafening cheers for SCOTT and GRAHAM.' [2] The fact that he discussed none of the real and very grave questions of the day is not more strange than his statement, twice made, that he asked the Scott Club to be allowed to make the speech at all.

What further part Lincoln took in the campaign does not appear.[3] We know only that, as the Illinois member of the National Whig Committee, he had charge of the party's for-

[1] *Illinois Daily Journal*, issues of Sept. 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, and 21, 1852. The speech is omitted from all published *Works* of Lincoln.

The caption before each section of the speech in the six separate issues of the Whig organ is:

HON. A. LINCOLN'S ADDRESS,
Before the Springfield Scott Club, in reply to Judge DOUGLAS' *Richmond Speech. (Published by desire of the Club.)*

[2] *Illinois Daily Journal*, Aug. 30, 1852.

[3] In Lincoln's *Works* is printed an opinion on the rights of 'challenged voters;' but this short and formal document seems to have been non-partisan, since it was signed by Democrats as well as Whigs. *Works*, II, 177–8.

tunes in that State during the Presidential contest of 1852. Not the least curious of the mystifying circumstances that confront and puzzle the student of Lincoln's public activities is the strange fact that none of his letters or other writings during the year that he was the Illinois member of the National Whig Committee, have been published or are even known to have existed.[1] But the Whig Party was moribund and just before his death, which occurred during the campaign, Webster declared that after the election it would be known 'only in history.'[2]

The campaign droned along.[3] The Free-Soilers and Abolitionists were fiery and vociferous; but neither Whigs nor Democrats displayed keen interest. Clamor against slavery seemed to be repugnant to the popular mind which apparently wanted nothing so much as banishment of that subject from national politics.

Among Democratic leaders only Douglas showed much spirit, and he spoke all over the country for the Democratic ticket.[4] Thus he came into direct contact with more people in more places than any other man of any party, and learned at first hand the state of public feeling. Of consequence, and from his own disposition and judgment, he afterwards declared in the Senate that he had resolved never to make another speech on the slavery question.

So election day dawned in an atmosphere of serene apathy. The strident cries of Free-Soil and Abolition orators for liberty and the rights of man had fallen on deaf ears and echoed hollowly from brazen and unresponsive skies. Pierce achieved one of the notable election triumphs of American history.[5] The

[1] The hiatus in the steady flow of Lincoln's letters, articles, and speeches is rendered more provoking by the omission of the Scott Club speech from all collections of Lincoln's writings.

With the exception of the Clay eulogy and short non-partisan legal opinion on the election law signed by Lincoln and three other lawyers, the important year of 1852 is a blank in Lincoln's published *Works*.

[2] Wilson, II, 375.

[3] *New York Herald* and *Louisville Journal*, clipped in *Washington Union*, Sept. 24, 1852.

[4] *Douglas:* Johnson, 207.

[5] Pierce's popular plurality over Scott was nearly two hundred and fifteen thousand; and his majority over both Whig and Free-Soil candidates was only a little less than sixty thousand. Scott carried but four states, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Tennessee,

Free-Soil Party was shattered beyond recovery.[1] Northern Whigs must now see that 'free-soil don't pay any better at the North than at the South,' wrote Toombs to Crittenden. 'The nation, with singular unanimity, has determined to take a man without claims or qualifications, surrounded by as dishonest and dirty a lot of political gamesters as ever Catiline assembled, rather than the canting hypocrites who brought out Gen. Scott.' No party deserved to live if it was not national; see how 'the motley crew . . . under the name of the Democracy' had triumphed merely because of its 'standard of nationality.' [2]

The *Illinois Journal*,[3] the Whig organ of that State which always expressed Lincoln's opinions, gave a different explanation of the rout of that party. Fillmore men thought that his administration had showed 'patriotism, purity, talent' and believed that he would have been elected 'by acclamation;' and they resented Scott's nomination. Moreover 'every ISM was against them [the Whigs] — Free-Soilism, Abolitionism, Native Americanism, Secessionism, Free Public Landism, . . . in [a] word, all the little factions in the country.'

In Illinois the Democratic gain was unprecedented, Pierce receiving over twenty-four thousand more votes than the number cast for Cass four years earlier. The Whigs also increased their vote by nearly eleven thousand, but this was about thirteen thousand less than the Democratic gain. The Free-Soil strength shrank from almost sixteen thousand in 1848 to scarcely ten thousand in 1852.

Very decidedly Illinois held out little to encourage aspiring Whig or Free-Soil politicians. For them the prairie skies were lowering during the winter of 1852–53; and spring, summer, and

and Vermont, with a total electoral vote of forty-two, while Pierce swept the remainder of the Union with a representation of two hundred and fifty-four in the electoral college.

[1] Its heaviest loss was in New York where it cast about ninety-five thousand fewer votes than in the preceding presidential campaign; but Free-Soil defection was general. For example, that party declined about two thousand in Connecticut, four thousand in Maine, ten thousand in Massachusetts, four thousand in Ohio, six thousand in Illinois, three thousand in Michigan, five thousand in Vermont, one thousand in Indiana, where the Free-Soil candidate for Vice-President lived, and an equal number in New Hampshire, the home of the head of the ticket.

[2] Toombs to Crittenden, Dec. 15, 1852. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 322.

[3] Nov. 19, 1852.

autumn brought them no fair weather. Lincoln stated only a coldly practical fact when, eight years later, he said that, at the period under review, he 'was beginning to lose interest in politics.' Democratic dominance was overwhelming and the Democratic future rosy. Douglas was supreme in his own State, was reëlected to the Senate without opposition, and loomed larger and was more attractive than ever as a national figure.

In fact, the year 1852 marks the beginning of one of the most important developments in the whole course of American history — a development which became an essential and integral part of Lincoln's career. In that development one great historic political party disappeared as a national organization, and a sectional party took its place; the national scope of the other great historic political party shrank to sectional dimensions.

Under different names, these two fundamental political divisions had always separated the American people on economic and governmental issues common to the entire country. Whigs in Virginia believed the same things as Whigs in Massachusetts; Democrats in Georgia agreed with Democrats in Iowa. Thus those two parties had been powerful forces in weaving the people into a nation. But in 1852 one of those forces collapsed, and the other began to contract and lose strength.[1] Henceforward, gradually, yet swiftly as history runs, sectionalism in government assumed that sway over American politics which persists to this day.

However, the election of 1852 showed that any future political organization hostile to Democracy must be built mostly of Whig materials on Whig foundations — Whig economic traditions, protective tariffs, internal improvements, sound finance, 'good business.' Of course Free-Soilers, Abolitionists, Know-Nothings, and all other groups antagonistic to the ruling political power, must also be used; but these would give spirit and color rather than substance and numbers to the new party of the future. When that new party appeared and after Lincoln finally joined it, we shall hear him describe these and other ele-

[1] For a thorough treatment of the effect of parties upon the evolution of the American people, see 'The Nationalizing Influence of Party:' Allen Johnson. *Yale Review*, xv (1907), 283–92.

ments with pungent fidelity. Necessarily the new party would be sectional, and we shall now follow the events that developed it.

In the mid-winter of 1853 the first blow that ever had shaken his fierce, proud spirit fell upon Douglas. Six years earlier he had married Martha Denny Martin, daughter of Colonel Robert Martin, a prosperous planter of North Carolina.[1] Douglas's love for his beautiful wife amounted to infatuation and his devotion increased throughout their married life. On January 23, 1853, Mrs. Douglas died. Overwhelmed with grief, Douglas sought solace in travel.[2] On May 14, having installed his sister in charge of his house, he sailed for Europe.

When he went abroad his party was seemingly in fine condition. He returned early in November to find it torn by feuds, without definite policies, filled with discouragement. Although Pierce was extremely popular in Washington — the best liked, personally, of any President up to that time, as an experienced newspaper correspondent declared — and although he was an upright man of good ability, he had proved more inept even than Polk in the delicate art of dealing with men, and by unskilful distribution of patronage had wrecked his party in New York and created factions in other States.[3]

Promptly Douglas set about the difficult labor of rehabilitating the national Democracy. He was the outstanding Democrat of the day, the ablest man in his party, aggressive, brilliant, daring; and he was the idol of the new generation which burned with ardor for expansion, development, and progress.

In a letter to his intimate political and personal friend, Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *Illinois State Register*, organ of the Democracy of that State, Douglas outlined his program. The surplus, and therefore the tariff, must be reduced to prevent business upheaval; the river and harbor problem solved; the

[1] For an entertaining account of Douglas's first marriage see *Douglas:* Johnson, 145–9. Colonel Martin owned a plantation and about 150 slaves in Mississippi which he offered to Douglas, who refused; and, by his will, Colonel Martin gave his Mississippi lands and slaves to his daughter and her children, if she should have any, and, if not, the slaves were to be freed and sent to Liberia. Colonel Martin died within a year. In this fashion Douglas was afterward assailed, as we shall see, by political enemies for being a 'slave holder.' Two sons were born of this marriage.

[2] *Douglas:* Johnson, 208; Stevens, 637. [3] Poore, I, 428–9.

Pacific Railroad built by private enterprise, aided by land grants as in the case of the Illinois Central, 'but not a dollar from the National Treasury.'

The Democratic press was beginning to declare again for Douglas for President in 1856, but he rejected the idea. 'I do not wish to occupy that position [of a prospective candidate]. I do not think I will be willing to have my name used. I think such a state of things will exist that I shall not desire the nomination. . . . The party is in a distracted condition and it requires all our wisdom, prudence and energy to consolidate its power and perpetuate its principles. Let us leave the Presidency out of view for at least two years to come.' [1]

Such were Douglas's first hasty views on his return from Europe. Soon after he wrote this notable letter, the Administration organ in Washington declared that the principal subjects before the Congress about to convene would be the organization of Nebraska and the building of the Pacific Railroad.[2] Events had marched swiftly in the United States during his absence, and, as had been the case for a decade, they had continued to march toward the Great West — the land of Douglas's dreams and plans, almost of his affections.

Since 1849 the effect of the discovery of gold in California had worked an economic miracle throughout America. Prices had risen, prosperity bloomed. The increased price of cotton had had much to do with assuaging Southern irritation and effecting the Compromise of 1850. But the enchantment of the Western sands and mountains had wrought a marvel far greater than the stimulation of enterprise and business. The American instinct for expansion, for the occupancy of new countries, for adventure, for imagined gain, was aroused, strengthened, and became almost a frenzy. By sea and overland thronged scores of thousands of seekers for fortune in the golden West.

Across that tremendous expanse called the Nebraska country, stretching from Missouri and Iowa to the Rockies, crept long trains of covered wagons laden with the families and household

[1] Douglas to Lanphier, Nov. 11, 1853. MS. in possession of William L. Patton, of Springfield, Ill.

[2] *Washington Union*, Nov. 26 and Dec. 3, 1853, as quoted in *Douglas:* Johnson, 228.

goods of prospective settlers. For those emigrants from the older States were not allured by gold alone, but even more by lust for land, and they meant to stay on the Pacific slope. People of the younger States joined the movement to the West. When Lincoln came home after his first session in Congress, scarcely a town or hamlet in Illinois but was sending men and families to join the long caravans plodding across the plains toward the sunset.[1] Upon his return to Springfield when his term had expired, the exodus was still going on. Often, as he joked with companions in the Court House yard or on the narrow board sidewalks before the stores on the public square, Lincoln saw groups of emigrant wagons[2] lumbering through the mud of the slough-like streets. The fact that immense areas of fertile land and beautiful country in Illinois were still vacant, mattered not at all to these searchers for the unknown and fabulous.[3] Even in scantily settled Iowa the western fever raged.

New and vivid interest in Oregon, too, sprang up, and thousands of 'home-seekers' left good houses and farms[4] to get others in the wilds of that far-off Territory. All these hope-inspired processions to lands beyond the distant mountains, crept along the perilous trails, marked by skeletons of horses, mules, and cattle, stretching for a thousand miles across the

[1] 'The fever is extending and increasing. . . . [It] is affecting all classes, . . . young men, middle-aged and old alike.' *Quincy Whig*, Feb. 19, 1850.

'"All the world and *the rest of mankind*" are about leaving for California.' *Ottawa Free Trader*, March 16, 1850.

'On Fox River . . . the emigration will average one out of every six able bodied men. . . . In our own country . . . the proportion is yet fearfully large. . . . They are young, hale able bodied men, . . . who have an easy competence at home.' *Ib.*, March 23, 1850.

'From fifteen to twenty persons leave this town within the next few days for California, while three times as many go from the country around, among whom are some of our most estimable citizens.' *Rockford Forum*, March 20, 1850.

'25 wagons, each drawn by four horses, left here . . . for the long, and hazardous and laborious trip across the plains to California . . . . Each wagon bore the outfit of four emigrants.' *Ottawa Free Trader*, April 13, 1850.

[2] *Illinois State Register*, March 7, 1850. 'As many as three hundred teams have passed here [Springfield] this season.' *Ib.*

'We can scarcely look out of the windows but we see California trains, some drawn by oxen, some by horses, some by ponies, some by mules.' *Ottawa Free Trader*, March 23, 1850.

[3] *Ib.*, Jan. 31, 1852.

[4] Joseph B. Wells to French, Feb. 11, 1850. French MSS. *Quincy Whig*, Feb. 19, 1850.

Nebraska country.[1] Indian attacks and picturesque fights often broke the monotony of these journeys.

But other thousands of 'movers' did not essay expeditions so hazardous; instead they went to Iowa, to Wisconsin, anywhere, apparently, away from the place in which they were. People came to Illinois from adjacent States on the East; people left Illinois for adjacent States on the West.[2] It was another of those folk movements that made and mark American territorial expansion.

Thus it happened that the attractiveness of the grass-covered, flower bedecked prairies beyond the Missouri and Iowa boundaries became known to multitudes of the restless who sought a new abiding place. But they could not settle there because the country belonged to the Indians and stern penal laws, supported by soldiers, stood like an armored wall along the border.[3] In spite of this grim barrier, however, many had crossed the forbidden line and established 'trading posts.'[4]

When, in the winter of 1853–54, Douglas essayed the hard and intricate task of restoring alignment, discipline, and vigor to his party, more than twenty thousand intending settlers had collected on the Iowa and Missouri lines, waiting in grumbling and sour impatience for the establishment of a Territorial Government and the extinguishment of Indian titles, so that they could take possession of the coveted domain.[5] The press, generally, declared that the organization of Nebraska would be effected by the Congress about to assemble.[6]

Organization of Territories, the creation of States, the development of the West had long been the most cherished object of Douglas's life and now had become nothing short of a passion.[7] In the debate to which presently we are to listen, Senator Bell of

[1] *Joliet Signal*, Nov. 19, 1850.

[2] *Ib.*, June 5, 1849. The *Terre Haute* (Ind.) *Journal*, as quoted in the *Illinois State Register*, declared that, in the spring of 1853, emigrant wagons bound for Illinois were crossing the Wabash 'almost as fast as the ferry boats can carry them.'

[3] The law imposed a fine of $1,000 and six months' imprisonment for settling in the Indian country. Douglas, in Cutts, 87.

[4] 'Slavery in Nebraska:' Edson P. Rich, *Trans. Neb. State Hist. Socy.*, II, 94–5.

[5] Douglas, in Cutts, 91; *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise:* P. Orman Ray, 103–15.

[6] For citations from newspapers in Nov. and Dec., 1853, see *ib.*, 178–82, 188–9.

[7] *Douglas:* Johnson, 221.

Tennessee declared that it amounted to a 'mania.' [1] It was the hand of Douglas that had written the laws for the admission of Florida, Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, and for establishment of Territorial Governments in Oregon, Minnesota, Washington, Utah, and New Mexico. And here were the opportunity and occasion to finish his constructive work, thus making civil and civilized rule continuous throughout a continental Republic.

From the time he entered the House as a raw young Western Representative, the organization of Nebraska had been his favorite project. Time and again he had introduced bills for that purpose and had supported bills introduced by others.[2] But for one reason and another they had always failed. Southern opposition, which though languid had been firm, had been the principal barrier.[3]

For about the same length of time that Douglas had striven to organize Nebraska, the building of a railway to the Pacific had been urged,[4] and of this project Douglas became as ardent a champion as he was of the erection of Territories and States.[5] As we have seen, the construction of railroads was his favorite idea when, with Lincoln, he became a member of the Illinois Legislature; and his creation of the Illinois Central Railroad — for his work in behalf of that great enterprise amounted to the creation of it — was his chief pride throughout his tempestuous life.[6]

At previous sessions Pacific Railroad bills had been introduced

[1] P. 206, *infra.*

[2] Cutts, 87. One reason that influenced Douglas first to insist upon the organization of Nebraska and the protection of emigrant routes was that Oregon, open to the British by ocean approach and closed to us by the Indian country, was 'rapidly passing into the exclusive possession of the British Hudson Bay Fur Company.' *Ib.*, 86–7.

[3] *Douglas:* Johnson, 220–2.

[4] *The Union Pacific Railway,* etc.: John P. Davis, 35, *et seq.; Douglas:* Johnson, 222.

[5] *Life of Augustus Cæsar Dodge:* Louis Pelzer, 163.

[6] As early as 1845, Douglas had urged that land grants be made to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to aid the building of a railway from Lake Erie to the Missouri River via Chicago and Rock Island; and, at the same time, that Oregon and Nebraska should be organized so that the railroad could be extended to the Pacific.

Douglas's interest in the Pacific railroad grew with the years; for instance, he presided at a great railway convention held at St. Louis, Oct. 16, 1849. Davis, 39–40. By 1852 it was difficult in Illinois to 'keep politics from being absorbed in the railroad question.' Manly to French, May 4, 1852. French MSS.

in House and Senate, but had made no progress. Jefferson Davis, now Secretary of War, had ordered surveys and these were being made. During a Presidential journey to New York in July, 1853, Davis accompanied Pierce and had endorsed the project in a notable speech at Philadelphia, delivered with the President's approval.[1] The time had seemingly arrived when the Nation's dream of steam transportation by land to the Western Ocean could be realized — the Nation's dream and the Nation's passionate desire.[2]

The success of this vast conception was inextricably interwoven with the organization of Nebraska,[3] unless, indeed, an extreme Southern route, which Davis, of course, strongly favored, should be chosen.[4] It was a financial impossibility to build and operate a railroad across a thousand miles of waste and unproductive land, without freight or any kind of traffic, without stations, without water-tanks, without fuel deposits, without protection from Indian attacks and depredation.

Obviously civil government must be organized, Indian titles extinguished, the country thrown open, an industrious white population permitted to occupy it, if a railway was to be built and maintained across it. Conversely the railroad would help to people that mighty expanse.

[1] *Washington Union*, July 17, Aug. 4, 1853.

In a long editorial, the Administration organ said that Davis's advocacy of the building of the Pacific railroad was the chief feature of the Presidential trip to New York; *ib.*, July 25, 1853, and that necessity and the public demand would compel construction. *Ib.*, July 29, Aug. 4, 1853; and Philadelphia *North American*, clipped in *ib.*, Aug. 10, 1853.

[2] Davis, 37–42. On January 4, 1854, the day Douglas reported the territorial bill considered in this chapter, Senator William McKendree Gwin of California declared that 'no question of the present day approaches it [Pacific railway] in importance, or is more the subject of discussion throughout the country,' and his colleague, John B. Weller, asserted that the continuance of the Union depended upon the building of the road. 'Unless you make us, who stand upon the Pacific Ocean, feel that we are a part and parcel of the American family — it will be utterly impossible to preserve this Union.' *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. I, 118–20.

[3] For full, detailed, and very careful analysis of the connection of the Pacific railway project with the organization of Nebraska, see 'Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act;' Frank Haywood Hodder, *Proc. Wisconsin State Hist. Socy.*, 1912, 69–86.

Also see *Douglas:* Johnson, 222: *Washington Union*, Aug. 2, 10, Sept. 21, *et seq.*, 1853. The *New York Journal of Commerce* opposed any Pacific railroad. *Washington Union*, Aug. 9, 1853.

[4] The New York *Tribune* made a bitter attack on Davis's plan for a Pacific railroad because it contemplated the southern route to the exclusion of the northern or central route. *Washington Union*, Aug. 14, 1853. And see Davis, 58 and note.

To make that gigantic work possible was, perhaps, the strongest and most tangible argument for the establishment of a Territorial Government over the country through which the most direct, practical, and advantageous routes for the Pacific railway must go. Yet the railway situation was complicated and intricate. Conflicting influences, financial, political, and sectional, favored or opposed different routes. Certain shipping and other interests did not want any overland railroad whatever.[1]

Although that great project was a dominant motive for the organization of Territorial Government over the Nebraska country, it had to be kept in the background while any bill for that purpose was being piloted through Congress. It placed Douglas in a special difficulty, since he could not express preference for any one route, without offending supporters of other routes and thus killing the territorial bill.[2] Not the least of the delicate problems of parliamentary strategy in the historic contest which we are now to witness was that of keeping the pressing railway question out of the discussion.

Still another element of the tangled situation existed, and, while interwoven with the Pacific Railroad project, it was more personal and dramatic, and more decisive of the outcome, than any other phase of the contest. By this element the storm that swept the country and finally drenched the Nation with blood was conjured.

For thirty years Thomas H. Benton had been Senator from Missouri and one of the outstanding leaders of the Democratic Party. Able, imperious, dogmatic, he brooked no rivalry. But in 1843 David R. Atchison, then thirty-six years old, had become the junior Senator, to fill the vacancy caused by the death

[1] Hodder in his definitive essay cited describes each route, the forces supporting or resisting it, and those opposing the whole enterprise, and he demonstrates the commanding influence of the railway plan over the establishment of Territorial Government.

[2] 'Douglas was estopped, both before and after the passage of his bill, from bringing out the connection between the organization of Nebraska and the Northern route for the Pacific Railroad. If he emphasized the importance of the northern, or rather the central, route, he antagonized his friends in the South. If he favored a Chicago terminal, he sacrificed the interests of his constituents in Southern Illinois and laid himself open to the charge of favoring his own private interest. If he favored a St. Louis terminal he sacrificed his own interests and those of his Northern Illinois constituents.' Hodder, in the *Dial*, for Sept. 1, 1909, XLVII, 122.

of Benton's colleague. Six years later Atchison had been re-elected, and the election for his third term was to take place in the autumn of 1854. He was highly popular in the Senate [1] and in seven of his ten years of service he had been chosen by his colleagues President *pro tem.* of that body.[2]

Benton disliked his younger associate and a feud speedily developed. So came about a factional fight in Missouri, which in 1850 resulted in the defeat of Benton in his sixty-ninth year. The old statesman was immediately elected to the House and at once began a vigorous campaign to succeed Atchison in the Senate.[3] Both men were for the organization of Nebraska and for the building of the Pacific Railroad, and Benton had declared that Territorial Government for that country was 'indispensable' to the construction of the road.[4]

Atchison had publicly said that he would not support any bill for that purpose unless his constituents could enter the territory with their slave property, and so contended that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 should be repealed.[5] He assured his constituents that he would have it done. With characteristic violence Benton assailed his rival's position.[6] Thus the repeal of the Missouri Compromise became an issue in Missouri politics, and Atchison knew that the repeal was necessary to his success in his senatorial contest with Benton.[7]

[1] *What led to the War, or, the Secret History of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill:* John A. Parker, 13.

[2] Atchison was elected president *pro tem.* of the Senate within three years from the time he became a member of that body — a circumstance almost without precedent or parallel.

[3] For extended narrative of the political fight between Benton and Atchison and the effect of it on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, see Ray. A condensation of his elaborate book is given by him, in a paper, 'The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill,' *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1914, I, 261–80.

[4] *Douglas:* Johnson, 223; Ray, 72–9. In the debate in the House on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, James Johnston Lindley of Missouri said that his State demanded the immediate organization and settlement of Nebraska so that 'that great enterprise of the age, the Pacific railroad' might be consummated. *Ib.*, 101.

[5] *History of Kansas:* J. N. Holloway, 71.

[6] Only once, when the Nebraska territorial bill was before the Senate in 1853, did Atchison waver, when he declared that, since there was no prospect of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, Nebraska ought to be made a Territory notwithstanding that restrictive measure. Ray, 102–4.

[7] The Missouri Compromise provided that, as a condition to the admittance of Missouri as a slave State, slavery should be prohibited forever in all other territory

During their years of service in the Senate, Douglas and Atchison had become friends;[1] and Douglas was anxious to help his colleague in his fight with his truculent old opponent.[2] Another personal friend of Atchison, who was glad to assist him was a Senator from Kentucky, Archibald Dixon, who had been elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Clay.[3] Dixon was a stanch old line Whig, a well-nigh fanatical believer in slavery, and a strong opponent of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Long before Congress met the press predicted that attempts to repeal would be made and that a struggle would result. Some papers favored and others opposed the repeal.[4]

In briefest possible outline, such was the situation with respect to the organization of Nebraska when the first session of the Thirty-third Congress began. Never was proposal more enmeshed in tangled and conflicting interests than this territorial bill, presented soon after Congress opened. To steer such a measure through the tortuous channels of the treacherous waters before it, required both boldness and caution.

Still another complication speedily emerged. The Wyandot Indians had come from Ohio and had been given land in the Nebraska country, adjacent to Missouri. They had brought with them schools, churches, and methods of orderly industry. Wearied and disgusted with the delay of Congress to give them Territorial Government, this group had in 1852 set up a provisional establishment of their own.[5] Thereupon other Indians,

acquired from France, north of latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, which included the Nebraska country.

[1] Washington Correspondence, *Missouri Republican*, Jan. 6, in issue Jan. 13, 1854, as quoted in Ray, 221.

[2] Benton was disliked in the Senate, partly because of his attitude towards all prominent Democrats. 'He hates everybody and only regrets that every leading Democrat in America cannot be prostrated at once.' Douglas to Lanphier, Dec. 3, 1852. Lanphier MSS. And see Ray in *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.* 1914, I, 265.

[3] *Douglas:* Johnson, 236; Ray, 273.

[4] *Ib.*, 188–94, citing several examples.

[5] For extended account of the relation of the Wyandots, and their agent and representative, Abelard Guthrie, to the organization of Nebraska, see the *Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory:* William E. Connelley, a publication of the *Neb. State Hist. Socy. Proc. and Coll.*, 2nd Series, III. This carefully prepared volume is from the sources and contains original documents published for the first time. See also same author in *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, XV, 181–91. Also Hodder, 75.

supported by missionaries and by such white persons as were attached to the Government's military station in Nebraska,[1] elected a delegate to Congress, one Rev. Thomas Johnson, a Methodist preacher, a strenuous advocate of slavery, a slaveholder himself, and an adherent of Atchison.

In Iowa, another Johnson, Hadley D., a member of the Legislature and an enthusiast for railroad building generally and for the Pacific project in particular, chanced upon a Missouri newspaper containing a notice of the time and places for voting at this election. He told the citizens of the frontier town of Council Bluffs about it, and they, resolved that Iowa should not be left behind in an enterprise so important, forthwith crossed the Missouri to the Omaha hills, one of the places designated in the 'election notice,' and on October 11, 1853, chose their Johnson as delegate to Congress.[2]

None of these 'elections' had the slightest pretension to legality. To history they are the more important on that account, since they reveal the eagerness and determination of the frontier for the organization of Nebraska. Public meetings were held throughout Iowa and Missouri and resolutions were adopted urging the immediate establishment of Territorial Government and the building of the Pacific Railroad.[3] Those States, and the West generally, were united and aggressive for both projects. So stood matters on the border when Douglas returned from Europe.

The election of the two Johnsons as 'delegates' from a Territory not yet in existence, created a predicament. If Nebraska should be organized, which Johnson, if either, should represent that Territory? The Iowa Johnson hit upon a plan that might,

[1] Connelley, 38–9. Same in *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, xv, 189–90.

[2] 'How the Kansas-Nebraska Line was established;' Hadley D. Johnson. *Transactions Neb. State Hist. Socy.*, II, 85–6. This meeting also actually 'elected' a Governor, Secretary, and Treasurer of the Territory of Nebraska.

Hadley D. Johnson was a native of Indiana, and, in 1850, while still a youth, went to Iowa, because he believed that the Pacific Railroad would soon be built. For this reason he settled at Council Bluffs, convinced that the Eastern terminus of the road would be directly opposite that town.

Johnson was soon elected to the Legislature which was almost wholly occupied with plans for building railways in Iowa. Three lines were to converge at Council Bluffs in order to connect with the Pacific road. *Ib.*, 83–4.

[3] Hadley D. Johnson, 85–6; Hodder, 73–5.

perhaps, give both Johnsons the office: let the immense domain be divided into two Territories. To this happy solution his associates at Council Bluffs agreed and, laden with the weighty thought, the Iowa Johnson set off for Washington, whither the Missouri Johnson had preceded him.[1] So it came about that an expedient of a frontier politician was to have a theatrical effect on national politics and a directing influence in the development of the American Nation.

Augustus Cæsar Dodge, then Senator from Iowa, was a native of Missouri. He had been delegate in Congress from the Territory of Iowa and was elected to the Senate on the admission of that State to the Union. He was a typical Western man, bluff, alert, outspoken, courageous; and he was able. He took infinite pride in the fact that he never had had a servant, had done all his own work, ploughed his own fields, cut his own wood, driven his own horses, mules, and oxen.[2]

The slavery agitation disgusted Dodge. He believed that scheming politicians were making use of it solely for their advancement, and that the doctrine of racial equality was sheer nonsense. He was not, however, greatly interested in the subject, except as the strife over it interfered with his one great purpose. That purpose was the development of the West, and Dodge was irritated by anything that stood in the way of it. Such was his state of mind when, on December 14, 1853, he introduced a bill for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska, as he had promised the people of Iowa that he would do.[3]

It was identical with a bill presented at the last session of the House by Willard P. Hall of Missouri, who belonged to the Benton faction.[4] That measure had passed the House, but had been lost in the Senate where Douglas, as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, had had charge of it. Opposition had come from every quarter and for many reasons, but the prin-

[1] Hadley D. Johnson, 87–8.

[2] Dodge's speech in Senate, Feb. 25, 1854. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., xxxi, Appendix, 376.

[3] Hadley D. Johnson, 87.

[4] *Douglas:* Johnson, 223–4. Mr. Connelley says that Abelard Guthrie caused Hall to introduce this bill. *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, xv, 189.

cipal resistance was from the South.[1] Douglas was almost discouraged. For eight years, he told the Senate, his heart had been set upon forming 'territorial governments extending from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific Ocean.' Only thus, he said, could the Union be perfected and maintained.[2]

Now Dodge had brought forward the same measure, and Douglas, as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, was again in charge of it. Only by resigning his Chairmanship could he have avoided the management of that bill; only by deliberately consigning it to inevitable defeat could he have failed to make a single one of those parliamentary manœuvres which we are now to review. But Douglas did not want to escape his duty — rather, he welcomed it; for it appeared that, at last, his long-fought-for plan for the organization of Nebraska would be accomplished and the Pacific Railroad built.

Moreover, here was a heaven-sent opportunity to rehabilitate the Democratic Party, and, greatest achievement of all, to stop forever the discussion in Congress of the slavery question. But Douglas must act quickly, or the Southern route for the transcontinental railway would surely be adopted.[3] In fact, only the organization of Nebraska could prevent the building of the Pacific Railroad as planned by Southern statesmen. This circumstance was influential in the South, where opposition instantly developed to Territorial Government over the country through which lay any other route. The sagacity and persuasiveness of Douglas in quieting this antagonism and in actually changing it finally into support of the Nebraska bill, are, perhaps, not equalled in the annals of parliamentary generalship. As we shall now see, he did it by advancing a principle which he had urged for a long time.

Clay, Webster, Cass, Douglas, and nearly all who had championed the Compromise of 1850, had advocated popular sovereignty in the Territories, and had insisted that slavery could not go to Utah and New Mexico because of the soil, climate, and other factors of production.[4] In fact, two years before the debate over the Great Compromise Douglas had asserted the right

[1] Hodder, 78. [2] *Douglas:* Johnson, 224. [3] Hodder, 80.

[4] See speeches in Chap. II, of this volume.

of the people of territories to manage their domestic affairs, including slavery.[1] So Utah and New Mexico had been organized with the express provision that the people might deal with slavery as they liked.

Thus the principle of non-intervention by Congress in the slavery question had been applied. Why should it not govern the organization of the Nebraska country? That course had already been urged by many newspapers.[2] But from the moment Dodge introduced his Nebraska bill, representatives of the press in Washington renewed their forecast of a big fight over the measure on account of the slavery question.[3] For this conflict Douglas was to be assailed as few men have been.[4]

Informed newspaper correspondents said that the Senate Committee on Territories would follow the precedent made by the Compromise of 1850. The Douglas organ in Springfield so announced within a week after Dodge had introduced his Nebraska bill.[5] The *Charleston Courier* predicted that the principles of that adjustment would be made the basis of the Committee's report, which would raise a storm because of its effect on the Missouri Compromise of 1820.[6] The representative of the *New York Journal of Commerce* wrote to his paper that the

[1] Speech in New Orleans in 1848. Garrison, III, 402–3. Douglas had then said that the people of the Territories should regulate their internal affairs in their own way and that Federal interference on behalf of freedom was a 'usurpation.'

Indeed he had tried to introduce this principle of popular sovereignty into the resolution for the annexation of Texas in 1845 'by moving that states admitted from Texas be slave or free as their people should desire;' but Douglas's proposal had been rejected. Hodder, 72.

[2] For example, the *Albany* (N.Y.) *Argus*, Dec. 14, 1853, as quoted in Ray, 193–4, said that the 'precedent' of Utah and New Mexico was intended by the framers of the Compromise of 1850 to 'stand as a guide and landmark for all time,' and was a precedent for the organization of Nebraska. See other examples in *ib.*, 188–94.

The *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 10, 1853, as quoted in *ib.*, 192–3, said that the theory that the 'Compromise of 1850 has repealed the Missouri Compromise' was only the invention of 'a method of getting rid of it.'

[3] *Ib.*, 199–200.

[4] 'In all probability it [organization of Nebraska] would have caused a renewal of the slavery agitation even if Senator Douglas had not been in Congress.' Ray in *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1914, I, 265.

[5] *Illinois State Register*, Dec. 22, 1853.

[6] Washington Correspondence, Dec. 28, 1853, in issue of Jan. 2, 1854, as quoted in Ray, 205.

bill would be the same as the laws for the Territorial Governments of Utah and New Mexico, and added that soil, climate, and 'the necessary pursuits of the people' would 'effectually exclude slavery.' [1]

To Douglas's mind, that was the idea of the Compromise of 1850 — 'the foundation of all,' as Webster had expressed it. So the North could lose nothing by the enactment of such a measure, and the South might not oppose it, since the principle of Congressional non-intervention, for which the South had contended, governed the proposed legislation. Moreover it was in accordance with the Democratic platform of 1852, that 'covenant of reconciliation,' [2] as well as that of the Whigs, and concessions to the South were indispensable to the passage of the bill.[3] Such was the strategy of the situation as Douglas saw it and as it actually was.

On January 4, 1854, he reported the Nebraska bill.[4] That bill and report were what the newspaper correspondents had said they would be. The Compromise of 1850, ran the report, established 'great principles' which were intended to be enduring and which must govern the organization of Nebraska as they had controlled that of Utah and New Mexico. Those principles were that all questions arising from slavery should be left to the decision of the people; that cases involving 'title to slaves' or 'personal freedom' should be settled by the courts; and that the Fugitive Slave Law should be enforced 'in all Territories.'

This was as far as the experienced legislator was willing to go when launching the bill. Douglas was feeling his way, testing the depth and direction of senatorial sentiment. So he merely added casual reference to the opinions of 'eminent statesmen' that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional, and to the widely held view that any citizen could go with his property into any Territory; but, continued the report, since these were the same 'controverted questions' that had produced 'the fearful struggle of 1850,' the Committee was 'not

[1] Correspondence *New York Journal of Commerce*, Dec. 30, 1853.
[2] *Washington Union*, Jan. 5, 1854. [3] Hodder, 81; *Douglas:* Johnson, 229
[4] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. 1, 115.

now prepared' to offer specific recommendations 'as to the legal points involved.' A more astute parliamentary gesture than appears in this vague passage has seldom been made to evade opposition, or, if that could not be effected, to develop the source and strength of it.

In accordance with the direct assertions of the Report, the Committee had added to the Nebraska bill the exact words of the acts for Territorial Governments over Utah and New Mexico which provided that, when prepared, they might enter the Union with or without slavery as their Constitutions should prescribe.

The organ of the Administration heartily endorsed the Report, saying that Douglas's plan — the application of the principles of the Great Compromise — would restore Democratic solidarity, exorcise slavery dissension, make safe the Union. The bill 'presents an opportunity for practical vindication of the policy of the administration.' [1] Swiftly answering an attack by the New York *Tribune*, made 'with mad ferocity,' the *Union* said that, of course, that 'organ of abolitionism' would assail any plan to stop the slavery agitation, which was its 'only capital.' The bill would do just that, by giving to the people of the Territories 'the right of self-government' — that was the issue.[2]

January 7 the *Washington Sentinel* published the measure without a vital section, but included it in a reprint three days later, explaining that it had been omitted by a 'clerical error.' This section had been hastily written by Douglas after the

[1] *Washington Union*, Jan. 5, 6, 1854.

[2] *Ib.*, Jan. 8, 1854. The *Boston Post* strongly supported the bill and Douglas's report which, it said, was 'brief, clear, concise, and admirable.' Douglas had 'done his duty promptly and judiciously, in a model of a report.'

The *Philadelphia Argus* declared that the Report would be 'hailed with delight . . . in all parts of the Union. . . . It gives assurance that no more agitation [in Congress] will be allowed upon this [slavery] question.' Douglas would stand higher than ever 'as a statesman and a patriot.' Clipped in *Washington Union*, Jan. 10, 1854.

The *Baltimore Sun*, Jan. 6, 1854, stated that Douglas was 'entitled to the thanks of the country for the discreet manner in which he has solved the embarrassing questions attending the organization of the Territory of Nebraska.' Quoted in Ray, 221.

The Correspondent of the *New York Journal of Commerce* wrote his paper (Jan. 5, in issue of Jan. 6, 1854) that, while the bill and report would cause excitement, 'I am glad to say, [they] meet with general approbation. . . . If this bill should pass it will settle the [slavery] question as to the future Territories.' *Ib.*, 220.

second reading of the bill,[1] but long before it could come up for discussion.

This addition was: 'In order to avoid all misconstruction, it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this act, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, to carry into practical operation the following propositions and principles, established by the Compromise measures of 1850, to wit' — the principles announced in the Committee's report, already given.

Although Atchison, the chief supporter of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, was content with the bill as reported,[2] it is obvious that some other Senator or Senators had told Douglas that the mere statement of these principles in a report was not satisfactory, and that an assertion of them must be made in the bill itself. This Douglas had done to secure the support of the objectors, and yet not to give excuse, by forthright repeal of the Missouri Compromise, for vigorous attack upon the measure.[3] The incident was such as marks the ordinary course of disputed legislation.

The South, however, looked askance at the bill even as changed. After all, it was a Western scheme which would give the North still greater power without any benefit whatever to the South. The *National Intelligencer* published many excerpts from Southern papers in opposition to the bill. 'Its introduction fell coldly upon the Southern public,' testified the *New Orleans Bulletin*.[4] Senator George Edmond Badger of North Carolina, the ablest Whig then in public life and an enthusiastic champion of slavery, openly declared that he would not support it;[5] and he and several of his party colleagues finally agreed to do so only when the bill was further altered and after a senatorial caucus determined upon that course.[6] Many Southern

[1] *Douglas:* Johnson, 232–3 and note. These first and second readings of a bill are formalities which usually are dispensed with.

[2] *Missouri Republican*, Jan. 13, 1854, and *Baltimore Sun*, Jan. 6, 1854, as quoted in Ray, 221–2.

[3] *Douglas:* Johnson, 233–5.

[4] June 14, 1854, clipped in Weekly *National Intelligencer*, June 24, 1854.

[5] Washington Correspondence, *Baltimore American*, clipped in *Alexandria Gazette*, Jan. 31, 1854.

[6] See p. 194, *infra*.

Democrats were kept in line by fear of disruption of their party.

Talk of the direct repeal of the Missouri Compromise was in the air and some thought that Cass of Michigan, the father of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, would make that proposal.[1] It came, however, like a flash of lightning from another and unexpected source. Without consulting anybody,[2] Dixon offered an amendment on January 16, 1854, expressly repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and declaring that owners of slaves could take and hold them within any Territory or State.

Douglas was startled and alarmed. Here was not only the direct issue which that skilful parliamentary tactician had been striving to evade, but an emphatic denial of the principle of nonintervention by Congress in the slavery question; and this, as Douglas had believed, was the vital principle of the Compromise of 1850. Instantly he went to Dixon's place in the Senate and pleaded with him to withdraw the obnoxious amendment, but he pleaded in vain. The stubborn old Whig would not budge.[3]

Sumner countered by offering an amendment prohibiting slavery, and the fight was on.[4] The Nebraska bill was gravely imperilled, the Pacific railway by the Northern route, endangered, the opening of the West, hazarded; and the Democratic

[1] *Albany Argus*, clipped in *Washington Union*, Jan. 19, 1854.

[2] 'To the best of my belief and knowledge, Mr. Dixon consulted no one in this matter.' *True History of the Missouri Compromise and its Repeal:* Mrs. Archibald Dixon, 437. Just before introducing his amendment he showed it to James C. Jones of Tennessee, 'a Whig Senator, and his warm friend.' *Ib.*, 443.

[3] Dixon, 446–7.

[4] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. I, 186. The *Louisville Times* (Jan. 17) savagely attacked Dixon: he had 'joined hands' with Sumner, 'one of the most pestilent abolition agitators in the whole Union.' His amendment would only arouse agitation which would 'unquestionably blight the fruits of the Compromise [of 1850]. For the unmanly purpose of embarrassing the National Administration Mr. Dixon is willing again to raise that whirlwind of sectionalism which had well-nigh swept away our institutions,' etc.

Dixon answered in a very long letter, in which he gave the same arguments as those of his speech in the Senate. The bill as Douglas first reported it, was not approved by Southern Senators, but was 'a betrayal of them, and a covert surrender of every slaveholder to be sacrificed at the feet of his more wily and cunning Northern opponents.' It was to prevent that, he said, that he had offered his amendment. Dixon to *Louisville Times*, Jan. 28, 1854, in *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 4, 1854.

Party brought to the brink of another sectional division. Well-nigh every plan and purpose dear to Douglas was in jeopardy.

In a long editorial the Administration organ deplored both amendments. Although hostile to one another, both came from foes of the Democratic Party, and they were certain to 'stir up excitement.' Of course Abolitionists wished 'the fires of discord rekindled,' but Democrats did not — 'let well enough alone.' [1]

Unless the bill was to be abandoned, the altered situation made indispensable a modification of tactics. The course to be followed was simple, plain, unavoidable. It was merely to apply still more plainly in the bill itself the principles of the Compromise of 1850 as already announced in Democratic newspapers and stated in Douglas's report. Agreement from the obdurate Dixon must be secured, for that would make Southern opposition difficult and improbable; and the Administration must specifically endorse the plan, for that would again make the modified bill a party measure.

So Douglas sought the Kentucky Senator and assured him that he would revise the bill to Dixon's satisfaction; it will ruin me, but it is right, he said.[2] The whole subject was then carefully reviewed in a long conference with the President who approved the necessary changes. In order that Pierce might not withdraw 'his countenance after the battle should be joined,' Douglas and Atchison insisted that the President, himself, write the famous amendment, now to be considered, which, in effect, repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820.[3] Such was the need of speedy counsel and decision that Douglas insisted upon the conference on Sunday.[4]

[1] *Washington Union*, Jan. 20, 1854.

[2] Dixon says that Douglas took him for a drive and proposed to 'take charge of the amendment and engraft it on his territorial bill.' Dixon agreed and Douglas said: 'I shall be assailed by demagogues and fanatics without stint or moderation. Every opprobrious epithet will be applied to me. I shall be, probably, hung in effigy. . . . This proceeding may end my political career, . . . but . . . I am prepared to make the sacrifice.' Dixon was 'deeply affected.' Dixon to Foote, Oct. 1, 1858, in Dixon, 447.

Mrs. Dixon relates that, on his return from his drive with Douglas, her husband told her of the talk and that Douglas said: 'By God, sir, you are right, and I will incorporate it in my bill, though I know it will raise a hell of a storm.' *Ib.*, 445.

[3] *Missouri Republican*, April 10, 1854, as quoted in Ray, 214, and other sources there cited.

[4] *Douglas:* Johnson, 237–8.

Meanwhile Senator Dodge, who had become 'an ardent friend and advocate' of the Iowa Johnson's plan, took him to Douglas, and the 'delegate' urged that Nebraska be divided into two Territories, one to be named Kansas and the other Nebraska. The Missouri Johnson had finally agreed to the scheme, including the line of division between the prospective Territories, though with much grumbling and dispute. 'After mature consideration,' Douglas consented to make the change.[1]

Without losing a moment Douglas reported the perfected bill Monday, January 23. It provided for identical Territorial Governments for Kansas and Nebraska as demanded by the two Johnsons [2] and included the President's amendment declaring that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had been 'superseded by the principles' of the Compromise of 1850, and was now 'inoperative.' [3] Two weeks later, Douglas moved to strike out the words 'superseded by' and 'inoperative' and to insert, in lieu of them, the words 'inconsistent with' and 'null and void,' [4] a verbal change of no importance, but about which acrid complaint was made in the flurry we are now to witness.

Dixon acquiesced — he only wished to make the bill conform to the principles of the Great Compromise, he said. Douglas was glad to hear it; he had thought that Dixon had intended to 'affirmatively legislate slavery into the Territory,' whereas 'the object of the Committee was neither to legislate slavery in nor out of the Territories;' but only to 'apply the doctrine of Congressional non-intervention.' [5]

The organ of the Administration promptly announced that the President would regard support of the measure as a test of

[1] Hadley D. Johnson, 88–90. 'He agreed that, as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, he would report a substitute for the pending bill, which he afterwards did do,' which 'provided for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska.'

This division was forecast by the *Baltimore Sun*, Ray, 204–5. And see *Douglas:* Johnson, 225–6.

[2] *Ib.*, 238; Hodder, 82.

[3] These words, rather than a direct assertion of repeal, were used in order to avoid opposition from those Southern Senators who maintained that the arrangement of 1820 was unconstitutional and therefore not capable of repeal. Washington Correspondence, *New York Herald*, Jan. 23, in issue of Jan. 24, as quoted in Ray, 213.

[4] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. I, 343, Feb. 6, 1854.

[5] *Ib.*, 239–40.

Democratic orthodoxy.[1] Thus concessions to get votes indispensable to the passage of the bill furnished grounds for those attacks upon it, which, as we shall see, resulted in obscuring to the public eye the whole character and purpose of that historic measure — the development of the Great West. For the extension of civil government, the peopling of the plains, the building of railways over them and across the mountains to the harbors of the Coast, were the objects, for the achievement of which the Kansas-Nebraska bill was designed to pave the way.

On January 24, 1854, the day after he had reported the bill, Douglas asked that it be taken up. Chase and Sumner requested delay in order to examine the bill. Although his friends told him not to grant the favor, Douglas did so because, as he said, it was only fair.[2] But several days previously, January 19, 1854, Chase had written a violent attack upon the bill.[3] It was entitled 'Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States.' Chase and Sumner in the Senate and the four Abolitionists in the House, signed the document; Seward and other anti-slavery men refused.[4] It was printed in the abolition organ, the *National Era*, in the New York *Times* and *Tribune*, and sent by mail throughout the country.[5]

It was clever propaganda. Assumptions, arguments, and beliefs were stated in the form of undisputed facts. The Appeal was brief, and could be printed in less than three columns of any ordinary country newspaper. It was written in simple language, every statement was remarkably clear, and the paragraphs were short and distinct. Although many assertions of

[1] *Washington Union*, Jan. 22, 24, 25, 29, 31, 1854. This paper was now owned by the former private secretary of Jackson and Minister to Prussia, A. J. Donelson, who had bought the *Union* from Ritchie in March, 1851. The editor was O. P. Nicholson. Weekly *National Intelligencer*, March 22, 1851, reprinting letters of Donelson and Ritchie. This fact is important, since the editorials of 1854 were not written by the veteran Southern journalist who wrote those of 1850.

[2] Douglas, in Cutts, 95–6.

[3] Chase to J. T. Trowbridge: Warden, 338; Wilson, II, 385. 'Forewarned, as they felt, they had already prepared an appeal to the people of the United States.' *Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase:* J. W. Schuckers, 140.

[4] Schuckers, 160–1. The four were J. R. Giddings and Edward Wade of Ohio, Gerrit Smith of New York, and Alexander De Witt of Massachusetts.

[5] The Appeal did not appear in the *National Intelligencer* until Feb. 4, when the national Whig organ published it in full.

the Appeal were untrue, and the theory of it [Southern plot to extend slavery] wholly false, it aroused the public fury and made the issue which again brought Lincoln into politics.

The Nebraska bill of the last session, it began, was 'based on the principle of excluding slavery from the new Territory;' the present bill 'will open all the unorganized territory of the Union to the ingress of slavery.' So 'we arraign this bill as a gross violation of a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World, and free laborers from our own States, and convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves.'

In the guise of historical narrative the Appeal stated the usual Free-Soil arguments. The original policy of the Government was 'non-extension of slavery,' and the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had 'consecrated' Kansas and Nebraska 'beyond question, and beyond honest recall . . . to freedom and free institutions forever.'

Yet it was now proposed to repeal that 'compact.' Various pretexts cloaked 'this monstrous wrong.' One of these was that the Nebraska country was in the same situation as the territory acquired from Mexico and was governed by the Compromise of 1850. This was false: the Missouri Compromise of 1820 applied exclusively to territory acquired from France while the Compromise of 1850 applied exclusively to territory acquired from Mexico.

The free States had kept the Missouri bargain, and now the slave States, after receiving the benefits, proposed to repudiate it. 'Not without the deepest dishonor and crime can the free States acquiesce in this demand.'

The Pacific Railroad could not be built by the Central or Northern route, asserted the Appeal, because 'inducements to the immigration of free laborers will be almost destroyed' and the 'intelligent masses will be virtually excluded. . . . The blight of slavery will cover the land.' Newspapers printed in German and other foreign languages were urged to expose this devilish plot against European emigrants, and this appeal had powerful and enduring effect.

The bill would 'sever' the East from the West 'by a wide slave-holding belt of country, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to British North America. It is a bold scheme against American liberty, worthy of an accomplished architect of ruin. . . . Doubtless' the plan was even to 'extinguish freedom and establish slavery' on the Pacific coast and 'thus permanently subjugate the whole country to the yoke of a slave-holding despotism.'

At this point the Appeal contained a blazing paragraph which was to fire a powerful body, already overheated to the point of explosion: 'We implore Christians and Christian ministers to interpose. Their divine religion requires them to behold in every man a brother, and to labor for the advancement and regeneration of the human race.' Everybody must protest in every way against this 'enormous crime.'

The paper then asserted that Douglas was chiefly to blame. To get Southern support for the Presidency, he proposed to make two Territories and repeal the Missouri Compromise. His pretence that that 'compact' had been 'repealed' by the Great Compromise, was a 'manifest falsification of the truth of history. . . . Mr. Douglas himself never advanced such a pretence until this session. . . . It is a sheer afterthought. . . . Will the people permit their dearest interests to be thus made the mere hazards of a presidential game.' [1]

Such was the political circular sent broadcast over the land several days before the bill it assailed was set for discussion in the Senate, and before the men whose motives and purposes it branded as criminal knew of its existence. And it was as effective as it was inflammatory. No denial, explanation, exposure coming long afterward, could possibly counteract the influence of it on public opinion.[2]

Throughout the North, the Appeal was read with horror; for every word of it was accepted as truthful.[3] Its inflammable

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. I, 281–2.

[2] It was designed to 'forestall popular sentiment' and prejudice public opinion by reaching the people first. *Washington Union*, March 17, 1854.

[3] 'It was copied every-where and read every-where. The people . . . took the alarm.' Chase to John T. Trowbridge: Warden, 341.

Within a fortnight [the Appeal] was reprinted in most of the newspapers throughout

sentences fell like sprays of oil upon the fires which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had started in every Northern community. Swiftly the holocaust, thus lighted, spread and raged for months with ever increasing fury. Abolition and anti-slavery papers flamed with anger. Abolition and Free-Soil orators shouted vituperation and insult.

The 'Slave Power' was breaking a 'sacred compact' to extend its hell-born tyranny, all said; the fairest land on earth was being given to the Monster; Douglas was serving the Devil to get the Presidency.[1] In this wise began the formation of that sentiment which shaped American politics to a desolating outcome, and even determined the writing of a chapter of American history for almost two generations.

Whatever may be thought of Douglas's purposes at this time, it is only common fairness to admit that there is not a shred of evidence that desire for the Presidency or any personal political advancement had anything to do with any phase of his connection with or management of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He could have dropped it without discredit or serious continued criticism, at least twice after the attacks upon it began. If the motives attributed to him by the Appeal really inspired Douglas in the desperate fight we are now to witness, he was one of the most stupid politicians of whom history makes mention.

When the Senate heard of the Appeal, surprise and anger were general. The first knowledge Douglas received of the assault upon him and the bill was a copy of it sent him by mail from Ohio.[2] Almost immediately abusive letters began to pour in upon him. Writers of some of these rejoiced that Douglas's wife had died and declared that such a fiend deserved more bereavements.[3] At all times a formidable antagonist, Douglas now became a dangerous foe. Grief for the death of his adored wife still gnawed at his heart. He had become careless of his

the free States. The effect . . . was instant. It . . . created in the North a profound agitation.' Schuckers, 148.

[1] This charge was accepted as true by large numbers, and it survived for many decades.

[2] Douglas in Cutts, 96. Douglas never forgave Chase and Sumner: 'They had thus *lied* — had got first before the country, seeking thus *by fraud* to forestall public opinion.' *Ib.*, quoting Douglas in 1859.

[3] See Douglas's speech, p. 210, *infra*.

appearance and habits.[1] For the moment his ambition was subdued by his sorrow.

Eleven days after the Appeal went to the country and six days after Chase and Sumner had asked that discussion of the bill be postponed to permit them to examine it, the time thus agreed upon to begin debate upon it arrived. Fairly shaking with wrath, Douglas came to the Senate.[2] After morning business on Monday, January 30, 1854, he took the floor to explain the measure. The chamber was filled, galleries crowded, the House without a quorum.[3]

Since we shall presently hear Lincoln make answer to this speech and the one in which Douglas closed the Senate debate, a summary of them must be given; for these two speeches were practically the same as the one soon to be delivered by Douglas in Illinois, except, of course, his dramatic chastisement of Chase and Sumner.

As to slavery, said Douglas, the Committee had been guided by the principle of the Compromise of 1850 — the basic principle of local self-government under which the people themselves should decide 'their domestic institutions' for themselves, 'instead of having them determined by an arbitrary or geographical line.' The Committee's amendment to Dodge's bill 'was only designed to render that clear and specific which seemed, in the minds of some, to admit of doubt and misconstruction.' Since the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had been 'superseded' by that of 1850, the Committee thought it best to say so in the bill itself.

As Chairman of the Committee, that was all he had intended to say about the bill, had it been taken up when Chase and Sumner asked for delay, which, as a matter of courtesy, Douglas had promptly granted. But the Appeal had since gone forth and that fact had changed the situation.

Seldom has a legislative body listened to such invective as that with which the enraged Douglas, now and later, lashed the authors and signers of the Appeal; seldom have men submitted to an assault so ferocious.[4]

[1] *Douglas:* Johnson, 208. [2] Schuckers, 149. [3] *Washington Union,* Jan. 31, 1854.

[4] 'He spoke under great excitement and with energy and power which made an im-

Little did he imagine, Douglas said, that when Chase and Sumner had begged him to delay the bill so that they could consider it, they had already written, signed, and sent to the country a document in which they had 'grossly misrepresented' the bill, 'grossly falsified' the action of the Committee, 'arraigned our motives, calumniated our characters.' Yet they had done so and more: they had applied 'coarse epithets' to Douglas by name.

Chase attempted an explanation of additional and unauthorized signatures to the Appeal printed in the New York *Times* and New York *Tribune* — Douglas silenced him. 'A Senator who has violated all the rules of courtesy and propriety — who showed a consciousness of the character of the act he was doing by concealing from me all knowledge of the fact — who came to me with a smiling face, and the appearance of friendship, even after that document had been uttered — who could get up in the Senate and appeal to my courtesy in order to get time to give the document a wider circulation before its infamy could be exposed; such a Senator has no right to my courtesy upon this floor.'

He would prove even the pretended historical statements of the Appeal to be false. From the very first, the policy of the government had been to separate free and slave institutions by a geographical line. For example, while slavery in the Northwest Territory was prohibited by the Ordinance of 1787, it was permitted in the Territory of Tennessee and soon thereafter in the Territory of Mississippi. This dividing line was made to conform to 'the laws of climate, of production,' and other natural causes which made slavery desirable or undesirable in different regions.

The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was based upon the same facts. It extended the geographical line through all the territory then owned by the United States — continued the original policy of the Government; and the 'principles' of that Act 'required that it should be extended indefinitely westward, so far

pression that was manifested in a way unusual in the Senate. . . . We doubt whether two Senators ever received so terrific an excoriation in that chamber as Messrs. Chase and Sumner were subjected to yesterday.' *Washington Union*, Jan. 31, 1854.

as our territory might go, whenever new purchases should be made.'

In the case of the annexation of Texas, of the Mexican acquisitions, and of Oregon, Douglas himself had tried to get the Missouri Compromise line extended to the Pacific Ocean, not because anybody imagined slavery could go North of that line, but to preserve the principle of that adjustment. He had failed, and who had defeated his proposals? Northern Representatives in the House![1] It was this repudiation of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 that had 'reopened the slavery agitation with all its fury.' Thus came the 'tremendous struggle of 1850' and the necessity for 'a new compromise.'

If the Missouri adjustment of 1820 had been observed in 1848, as Douglas had insisted it should be, the question never again would have arisen. But it was not observed; and who was to blame? 'The very men who now insist that the Missouri Compromise was a solemn compact. . . . The very men who now arraign me for a departure from the Missouri Compromise are the men who successfully violated it, repudiated it, and caused it to be superseded by the compromise measures of 1850.'

What was the Compromise of 1850? Its 'leading feature . . . was congressional non-intervention as to slavery in the Territories,' and the control by the people themselves of that question, subject only to the National Constitution. In lieu of a geographical line, which had been abandoned, Congress in the Compromise of 1850 'substituted a great principle of self-government, which would allow the people to do as they thought proper.'

Was not that 'new Compromise, resting upon that great fundamental principle of freedom . . . an abandonment of the old one — the geographical line? . . . I say it did supersede it, because it applied its provisions as well to the north as to the south of 36° 30′ . . . a principle of universal application.'

The law for the Territorial Government of New Mexico provided that when prepared for statehood, it might come into the Union with or without slavery as its people might decide, although part of that Territory was north of the Missouri Com-

[1] The Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1854, made the same statement.

promise line. Moreover that law gave the Territorial Legislatures the same authority over the subject of slavery that they had over any other subject.

Did not those provisions of the Compromise of 1850 'repeal,' 'annul,' 'supersede' the Missouri Compromise, as to that territory? If they did, then Chase and Sumner, asserting in the Appeal that in the Kansas-Nebraska bill Douglas had violated the Missouri Compromise, had 'put forth to the world . . . an atrocious falsehood:' for the Committee had copied the very words of the law establishing Territorial Government in Utah and New Mexico.

What then should be said of such slanderers — men who asserted that the Compromise of 1850 did not repeal the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and yet that the very same words in the Kansas-Nebraska bill did repeal it?

In such fashion Douglas mingled argument and denunciation. The 'Abolition confederates' who had written and sent broadcast the Appeal had, by 'a gross falsification of the laws of the land,' misled the public and sought to 'malign my character.' Worse still, the Appeal declared that the Compromise of 1850 had reference only to territory acquired from Mexico, whereas the law itself showed that some of the territory covered by that Compromise was purchased from France.

Everybody knew that the adjustment of 1850 was designed to 'establish certain great principles, which would avoid the slavery agitation in all time to come. Was it our object simply to provide for a temporary evil? Was it our object just to heal over an old sore, and leave it to break out again?' Was it for such a 'miserable expedient' that Clay and Webster had striven in those not distant days of gloom and peril?

Was it merely to reaffirm 'past and dead legislation' without reference to the future, that, in 1852, both Democratic and Whig parties had declared the arrangement of 1850 to be a definitive settlement of the slavery question? If so they 'palmed off an atrocious fraud upon the American people.' Men who had 'abhorred' the Great Compromise had, nevertheless, gone into the national conventions of their respective parties and agreed to stand by it, 'in order to avoid agitation in the future.'

That was the reason for the Whig and Democratic platforms of 1852, that their purpose, that their effect. If not, those planks had no meaning; and every time a Territorial Government was established, the ancient quarrel would be revived with all its bitterness and danger.

'But, sir, if you treat the Compromise measures of 1850 in the light of great principles . . . applicable everywhere in all time to come, then you avoid the agitation forever.' That was what the Committee had done in perfecting the Kansas-Nebraska bill, declared Douglas. They had applied the doctrine of congressional nonintervention and popular decision as to slavery in the Territories. 'If that principle is wrong, the bill is wrong. If that principle is right, the bill is right.'

The legal effect of the bill was 'neither to legislate slavery into these Territories nor out of them, but to leave the people do as they please,' under the Constitution.[1] Why should any American citizen, North or South, object to that principle? It was the very principle which had worked out freedom whenever slavery had been abolished in the United States.

Look at the original States which had rid themselves of that institution! Did they do that because the Federal Government said they must? 'Not at all; but they have become free States under the silent but sure and irresistible working of that great principle of self-government which teaches every people to do that which the interests of themselves and their posterity morally and pecuniarily may require.'

No act of Congress ever had excluded slavery from an inch of American soil, Douglas continued. Illinois had maintained slavery in spite of the Congressional prohibition of 1787,[2] and banished it of her own volition only when she wished to do so. Iowa and California had decided for themselves that they did

[1] Nothing angered Douglas more than the assertion that the bill would establish slavery in the Territories. The editor of a Democratic paper in New Hampshire, the *State Capital Reporter*, pretended to support the bill and said that it legislated slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. Instantly Douglas denounced him in a harsh public letter, saying that the editor knew he told an untruth and did so to hurt the bill. For this editorial and Douglas's reply, see *Washington Union*, Feb. 25, 1854.

[2] Former Gov. Edward Coles of Illinois, then living in Philadelphia, denied this in an open letter to Douglas. Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1854. Douglas promptly replied, maintaining his assertion successfully. *Ib.*, Feb. 25, 1854.

not want slavery. Long before Congress prohibited slavery in Oregon, the people had done so themselves in a government which they had set up for themselves. The people of Utah and New Mexico had done the same thing.

So would the people of Kansas and Nebraska; 'in that climate, with its productions, it is worse than folly to think of its being a slave-holding country. I do not believe there is a man in Congress who thinks it could be permanently a slave-holding country. I have no idea that it could.' [1]

When you give the people of a Territory a legislature, 'you thereby confess that they are competent to exercise the powers of legislation. If they wish slavery they have a right to it. If they do not want it they will not have it, and you should not force it upon them.'

Every man in Congress who favored the Compromise of 1850 then, favored the Kansas-Nebraska bill now: 'This tornado has been raised by Abolitionists, and Abolitionists alone.' They had raged at the Compromise of 1850 and now they assailed the legislation which was based on the principles of that adjustment, and they had influenced public opinion. But how? By scattering falsehoods about the bill, its authors, and supporters.

The Abolitionists professed their willingness to permit Territorial Legislatures to make laws on inheritance, education, morals, the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, and all the dearest interests of white men; 'but they are not willing to trust them to legislate in regard to a few miserable negroes. . . . Does it require any higher degree of civilization, and intelligence, and learning, and sagacity, to legislate for negroes than for white men? . . . That is the only question involved in the bill.' [2]

[1] 'It is admitted on all hands that the laws of climate and production and of self-interest will ultimately settle the domestic condition of the Territory. The Nebraska bill proposes to leave the matter to those laws. . . . The proposition appeals so directly to the common sense of every man, that we should be surprised if it failed in the end to meet the approval of the whole people — the abolitionists always excepted.' *Washington Union*, Feb. 2, 1854.

[2] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. 1, 275–80. The *Boston Post* published Douglas's speech in full, and in an editorial praised it in extravagant terms — it was great, wonderful, conclusive, Douglas did right to castigate his traducers and to de-

Chase called Douglas's speech a 'diatribe.' He knew the 'gigantic stature' of Douglas and how unequal must be any contest between them; yet 'I dare adhere to principle.' But Sumner and Chase had not 'assailed' Douglas; 'We spoke of the bill.' [1]

As manager of the bill, Douglas insisted on continuing the discussion of it. Again Chase asked for delay — he wished to examine 'certain historical facts.' Douglas brusquely refused — Chase should have done that before he 'published a history of this question to the world without investigating those very facts which he wishes now to examine.' A sharp interchange of personalities ensued.[2]

In this temper the celebrated debate over the Kansas-Nebraska bill began. Chase led the attack. His long and able speech was an amplification of the Appeal. 'It is *Slavery* that renews the strife,' by demanding the repeal of a 'sacred compact' in order to get more slave territory. Douglas's 'principle' could not settle the slavery question. 'What kind of popular sovereignty is that which allows one portion of the people to enslave another portion?' asked Chase.[3]

The Appeal and Douglas's reply brought about a Senatorial caucus of the friends of the bill. Party lines were obliterated among Senators from slave States. Every Southern Whig attended. It was agreed, Toombs advised a Southern editor, to 'carry the bill as it stands on the slavery issue,' because it would 'settle the question. . . . It is a measure of peace, equality, and fraternity; and if we let this opportunity of finally settling it escape I see no hope in the future. Dissolution will surely come, and that speedily.' [4]

As the debate went on the uproar throughout the North

nounce their falsehoods. His whole argument was 'masterly,' 'unanswerable,' etc. Reprinted in *Washington Union*, Feb. 9, 1854.

The *Pennsylvanian*, Feb. 1, 1854, also described Douglas's speech as 'masterly' and printed it in full, so that the public might know how the 'abolition harpies' had been lying about the bill and Douglas. *Ib.*, Feb. 3, 1854.

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. I, 280–1.

[2] *Ib.*, 289. [3] *Ib.*, XXIX, Appendix, 133–40.

[4] Toombs to W. W. Burwell, editor *Baltimore Patriot*, Feb. 3, 1854. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911: II, 342–3. Toombs was trying to get Burwell to support the bill in his paper: 'I feel great solicitude about your course on the Nebraska bill.'

aroused by the Appeal increased. Abolition and anti-slavery publications raged. Old line Whig journals grumbled and deplored. The New York *Tribune* led the onslaught — every issue blazed with inflaming editorials.[1] In general the Democratic press rallied to the support of the bill and the Administration; [2] some, influenced by the Appeal, did not.[3]

The pretence that the bill would extend slavery was false and 'senseless,' said the Administration organ; it was nothing but 'the abolition howl and the demagogue's alarm.' [4] Although against slavery, the *New York Sentinel* announced its support of the bill because it was right in principle. 'There is not the slightest probability that either of these territories will ever become Slave States;' the bill would silence slavery talk in Congress and give the country repose.[5]

But the opposition was stridently clamorous. Illinois became resonant with meetings and speeches of protest against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and these continued to grow in number and earnestness. Greeley's editorials fed the flames, for the *Tribune* was widely read in Illinois. Press, speakers, and resolutions adopted the arguments and often the language of the Appeal. Douglas was breaking a sacred compact and pandering to the Slave Power in order to gain the Presidency, exclaimed the *Aurora Guardian*, giving expression to the universal charge of all anti-slavery, most Whig, and some Democratic papers.[6]

We shall hear Lincoln, in due time, make the ablest of all the attacks upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill, though stating argu-

[1] *Tribune*, Jan. 6, 10, 11, 23, 1854.

[2] *Washington Union*, March 17, 1854, giving examples by States.

[3] *Ib.*, Feb. 3, 1854.

[4] *Ib.*, Feb. 26, 1854. 'No Southern man has claimed for the bill that it legislates slavery into the territories.' That claim is 'wickedly made' by 'enemies of the public peace' in order to create a 'SECTIONAL DIVISION' of the country. *Ib.*, March 19, 1854.

[5] Jan. 30, in *Washington Union*, Feb. 3, 1854. See especially a long editorial in the *Pontiac* (Mich.) *Jacksonian* reprinted in the *Washington Union*, Feb. 25, 1854.

[6] *Aurora Guardian*, Feb. 23, 1854. On this question the *Guardian* left the Democratic and supported the Free-Soil Party.

Also *ib.*, Feb. 16; *Free West*, Feb. 16, March 16; *Rock River Democrat*, Feb. 21, March 7, 14; *Peru Daily Chronicle*, Feb. 22; *Ottawa Free Trader*, March 11; *Belleville Advocate*, March 22, April 19; *Canton Weekly Register*, April 27; *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, May 20; and Alton *Daily Courier*, June 5, 1854.

ments and facts already and often adduced by others; but, for the present, he held his peace.

Douglas was sharply watchful of his State. He had heard, he wrote to Lanphier, that Abolitionists, Whigs, 'and some disappointed office-seekers professing to be Democrats,' were plotting to get hostile resolutions passed by the extra session of the Legislature, then meeting in Springfield. They had no constitutional right to do so, since that subject was not stated in the call, and he had written the Governor a letter for publication to that effect.

The 'plot' could not succeed, of course, but even if it did, it would not 'alter or change my course,' Douglas assured his editorial friend and champion. The purpose of the scheme was 'apparent' — it was merely 'to divide the Democratic party, and thus elect a Whig Senator [to succeed Shields in 1855]. Their only chance of success consists in our division.' [1] Lanphier would know who were the leaders of the conspiracy.

But the issue was clear, said Douglas. The party and the Administration were committed to the bill and would 'stand by it at all hazards. . . . The principle of this Bill will form the test of Parties, and the only alternative is either to stand with the Democracy or to rally under Seward, John Van Buren and Co.' The bill would pass and 'the party will then be stronger than ever, for it will be united upon principle.' [2]

Notwithstanding Douglas's warning to Governor Matteson and the organ of the Illinois Democracy, the Legislature did pass resolutions — but not of the kind Douglas had feared. Instead, the General Assembly strongly endorsed the bill as a faithful adherence to the principle of self-government established by the Great Compromise.[3]

In the third week of the debate, Sumner spoke. Like the argument of Chase, Sumner's oration, delivered in 'a sonorous

[1] Everywhere supporters of the bill insisted that opposition to it was chiefly inspired by 'malcontents, dissatisfied editors, disappointed office-seekers, and factious disorganizers,' solely to get political power: Slavery was a mere pretext — they wept for the negro but did nothing for him, etc. Editorial in *Norway* (N.J.) *Advertiser*, March 2, reprinted in *Washington Union*, March 8, 1854.

[2] Douglas to Lanphier '(Private),' Feb. 13, 1854. Lanphier MSS.

[3] *Washington Union*, March 7, 1854.

voice,' [1] was based on the Appeal, which he supported at great length and with much learning. The Nebraska country, the very 'Garden of God,' was guarded from slavery by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and now Douglas was trying to overthrow it and 'open a new market to the traffickers in flesh, that haunt the shambles of the South.' Slavery would go to Kansas and Nebraska just as it had gone to Missouri, unless Congress forbade it — contrast that State with Illinois, made free by the Ordinance of 1787. It must not be. *Right*, not *might*, must rule, exclaimed Sumner.

The Massachusetts Senator revived a phrase, which was to become a universal brand of animosity and derision, far more effective than fact or argument. Even in the North, said Sumner, slavery had produced 'that human anomaly — *a Northern man with Southern principles*. Sir — No such man can speak for the North. [Prolonged applause in the galleries.]' The Union was 'precious,' but liberty was 'more precious far,' Sumner ominously exclaimed.[2]

For the most part Seward, too, merely enlarged upon the Appeal, but he did it with remarkable clearness and ability, making some new arguments. To keep the Missouri 'compact' meant free labor in the heart of the continent to sustain 'ten, twenty, thirty, forty millions of people, and their successive generations forever;' to break it meant incredible desolation.

'If we . . . surrender' to the South, there could be no more free States, argued Seward. Of course slaves would go to Kansas and Nebraska; and a few of them were enough to make those Territories slave States. Witness Delaware which had but two thousand slaves and ninety-one thousand freemen and yet was a slave State. The proportions were substantially the same in Missouri and Maryland which, nevertheless, were slave States. New slave States were the stakes in the game the South

[1] Dodge's speech, Feb. 25, 1854. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 380.

[2] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 262–70; *Works*, III, 285–332. Italics Sumner's.

The phrase was in use before Sumner employed it. 'He [Johnson] touched on nullification, and was called to order by the Speaker, who, since Calhoun's chop round to the Northern man with Southern principles, has become tenderly observant of the feelings of the Nullifiers.' *Memoirs:* Adams, IX, 510 (March, 1838).

was playing to win; and, alas! many Northern men were playing for the North to lose.

Was the fate of free institutions to be left to the 'interested cupidity or the caprice of . . . the pioneer' rather than to 'the collective wisdom of the American people and the most solemn and time-honored statute of the American Congress,' inquired Seward. Why establish Territorial Government in Nebraska? Who asked for it? 'Practically, no one.' The Kansas-Nebraska bill was nothing but a 'pretext' for repealing the Missouri Compromise. Did the South imagine that that would put an end to the slavery discussion? Vain hope! That conflict would continue, because it 'is an eternal struggle between conservatism and progress, between truth and error, between right and wrong.' And Progress would win, Right would triumph.

Behold the North 'teeming with an increase of freemen, educated, vigorous, enlightened, enterprising freemen; such freemen as neither England, nor Rome, nor even Athens ever reared.' Already half a million freemen from Europe every year augmented that vast and glorious host, 'and ten years hence, half a million, twenty years hence, a million of freemen from Asia will augment it still more,' Seward prophesied. 'American slavery . . . cannot pour forth its blackened tide in volumes like that.' [1]

If Sumner irritated and Chase angered the supporters of the bill, Seward alarmed them. He was 'the shrewdest speculator in the dark school of agitation,' exclaimed the Democratic national organ,[2] and it insisted that the formation of a new party was his objective.[3]

As to the immense and growing emigration, was not the unoccupied Nebraska country the best place for it, asked the supporters of the bill in answer to Seward? Besides, 'our own march is westward' — natural law, the law of trade, indeed, divine

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., xxix, Appendix, 150–5.

[2] *Washington Union*, Feb. 24, 1854.

[3] 'Our Whig and abolition neighbors . . . are far less apprehensive of the loss of free territory than of the loss of a theme for perpetual agitation — a rallying cry for a party, and a chance of coalition . . . between Whigs, free-soilers, and abolitionists, who, united, may form a forlorn hope to charge again the serried ranks of democracy.' *Pittsburg* (Pa.) *Post*, as quoted in *ib.*, Feb. 19, 1854.

law impelled us thither. Not long ago it was said that 'California was not worth a dollar,' yet that State was now saving America from bankruptcy. See what marvels had been wrought in Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota! The same would be true of the now unorganized West.[1]

Time and again Southern Senators asserted that it was most unlikely that slavery could exist in Kansas and Nebraska.[2] They supported the bill for the sake of the principle of equality and as 'a measure of peace,' because it would banish the slavery dispute from Congress.[3] The South was eager for a final settlement, the *Washington Union* declared. 'They are worn out with agitation and are looking now, as they have been for years, to the adoption of some permanent rule that will insure quiet and peace.'

Still, the South was not united for the bill, even as amended. Large numbers were frankly hostile. 'Many Southern men are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise,' a well-informed correspondent of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*

[1] *Washington Union*, Feb. 19, 1854.

[2] 'I have no more idea of seeing a slave population in either of them than I have of seeing it in Massachusetts; not a whit.' Badger of North Carolina, Feb. 14, 1854. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 149.

'I believe that the passage of this bill is of no practical importance so far as new slave States are concerned. . . . I support it . . . as a measure of peace.' Hunter of Virginia, Feb. 24, 1854. *Ib.*, 225.

'Slavery may or may not go there. The inclination of my mind is that it never will.' Brown of Mississippi, Feb. 24, 1854. *Ib.*, 228.

'Mr. Webster was right in saying that the laws of God will govern the question of the employment of slave labor.' Butler of South Carolina, Feb. 25, 1854. *Ib.*, 235.

'I have inquired' among Southern Senators whether they thought slavery would be 'established' in Kansas and Nebraska. 'The greater number . . . concur in the opinion that it never will.' Bell of Tennessee, March 3, 1854. *Ib.*, 414.

Clemens of Alabama, now no longer in the Senate, in a private letter quoted President Pierce as having said that the bill was 'a proposition in "favor of freedom;"' that 'although we might absorb the whole of Mexico, *not another slave State would ever come into the Union;*' that he was surprised that the North should oppose it and '*that the South should be willing to take it.*'

This letter was published and Clemens wrote another to the President saying that he may have misunderstood Pierce's statement about the South, etc.; but, Clemens added: 'I thought the South must be the loser. I think so now.' *Washington Union* clipped in Weekly *National Intelligencer*, April 1, 1854.

[3] 'I desire to remove this great cause of disturbance [slavery agitation] and anxiety from our midst.' Hunter, *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 225.

In a letter to Dixon, March 7, 1854, Crittenden opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Crittenden MSS.

advised his paper: 'They know very well that slavery can never be carried into Nebraska, and they fear that the repeal of the Compromise, while it will do them no good, will establish a precedent for the repeal of other laws — the fugitive slave law, perhaps.' [1]

Parts of the South were indifferent. The *Washington Union* declared that 'the South looks on unmoved whilst the question is pending before Congress.' [2] The *New Orleans Weekly True Delta* admitted that people in that region showed 'not the least interest' in the bill. That paper supported it, 'not from any idea that slavery can ever exist in the Nebraska or Kansas territories, or any other territories, the products of which are wheat, oats, and other cereals,' but to deprive Congress of the pretext 'for interfering in the matter.' [3] Rhett's paper, the *Charleston Mercury*, complained that in the South 'all is calm and easy indifference,' and that many Southern papers, even in South Carolina, were against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.[4] After the passage of the bill, the *New Orleans Bulletin* stated editorially, that 'we believe the slaveholders of the South would have preferred its defeat. . . . We have yet to meet one who does not look upon the introduction of the Nebraska bill as ill-timed, ill-advised, and injudicious, if not positively wrong.' [5]

Some men of prominence in the South were frantically opposed to the measure. 'As a Southern man and a national man, I should like to see this misshapen and ill-begotten monster killed,' wrote John M. Botts of Virginia. 'Let the demon of discord be strangled in its birth! . . . Let it die and rot upon the

[1] Quoted in the *Alexandria Gazette*, Jan. 31, 1854.

[2] Feb. 18, 1854.

[3] April 1, 1854.

When the bill passed the *Delta* exclaimed: 'The country is at last, thank fortune, relieved from the Nebraska bore.' It was 'deemed of so little real advantage by the South as scarcely to command more than a mere passing commendation of the motives of its supporters in the free States.' But 'the adoption of the bill will prove a perfect godsend' to Free-Soil papers. *Ib.*, May 27, 1854.

In like vein, at the same time, Stephens wrote: 'Let them [Abolitionists] howl on — 'Tis their vocation.' Stephens to J. W. Duncan, May 26, 1854. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 345.

[4] Clipped in Weekly *National Intelligencer*, July 1, 1854.

[5] June 14, clipped in *ib.*, June 24, 1854.

dunghill! Let every lover of his country . . . turn from it with loathsome and shuddering disgust, as they would avoid a pestilence or the plague.' [1] The authors of the bill and amendments 'will soon find that they have raised a spirit which will wing its way through storm and tempest to the funeral pyre of the republic,' wrote Clemens.[2]

The *Detroit Free Press* asserted that 'Mr. Douglas's bill is the greatest advance movement in the direction of human freedom that has been made since the adoption of the Constitution,' for '*never before has the right of all American communities to self-government been fully recognized.* . . . Is there the most distant probability that they [the Territorial legislatures] will exercise that control in favor of slavery?' California, Utah, New Mexico had not, nor would Kansas or Nebraska. Whig and abolition demagogues were solely responsible for the popular idea that there was 'danger of slavery extension.' [3]

The *National Intelligencer* belatedly opposed the measure because it would give 'new life and zeal . . . to the fanatical spirit of abolitionism in the North.' This 'inspires in the opposite section of the Union only a feeling of scorn or hatred.' [4] A correspondent from New York in that paper warned its Northern readers not to indict the South for 'the proposed repeal of the *Missouri Compromise.* . . . Do not put the saddle on the wrong horse. It is not on the South that the blame of the measure should rest, except for the fault of being too easily seduced into it; and it is not against the South that your indignation should be especially directed, if at all. . . . Let it be remembered, in New York and elsewhere, that it was *not a Southern movement.* It came from the North — with a patriotic purpose, doubtless

[1] Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1854.

[2] *Ib.*, Feb. 11, 1854. For other Southern protests against the bill see *ib.*, Feb. 18, March 18, 1854.

'The Compromises of 1820 and of 1850 are clearly in conflict. . . . Both cannot stand.' We admire 'the independence and courage of Senator Douglas. . . . Patriotism and boldness . . . were requisite to inspire him' to attempt a permanent settlement of the slavery question in Congress. But his success depends largely on the support which the South may give him. *Mobile* (Ala.) *Register*, in *Washington Union*, Feb. 16, 1854.

[3] Quoted with editorial approval by the Weekly *National Intelligencer*, March 25, 1854.

[4] *Ib.*, Feb. 25, 1854.

— *but it came from the North* — is claimed as an Administration measure — and the North should not run away with all the merit of the act, whatever it be, and bear none of the blame.' [1]

Some Southern Senators supported the bill with strong reluctance. Brown of Mississippi thought that it ought to declare in direct terms that the Missouri Compromise 'is hereby repealed.' [2] Butler of South Carolina did not like the bill and voted for it, he said, only because its 'intendments' were good and it wiped out sectional lines. Had the Missouri Compromise brought harmony? 'No, sir; instead of Peace standing upon the Missouri line, with healing in her wings, and olive branches in her hands, it has been Electro [Alecto], with snakes hissing from her head, and the torch of discord in her hand.' [3]

Constantly the debate drew away from constitutional, legal, and economic issues and centered on the racial question, like steel splinters drawn to one point by an irresistible magnet. Every Southern Senator reverted to the subject. Sumner and Chase had fixed their eyes on abolition, and they spoke on slavery far more than on the bill. Racial equality was impossible — would Abolitionists themselves consent to a 'domestic relation' with a negro? asked Butler.[4] The South contained more than three million slaves; if they were freed and sent North, would Northern people receive them? 'No, sir; they would resist them with the bayonet.' [5]

Why not let those who understood the institution deal with it? The 'spirit of the age' pervades the South as well as the North.[6] Why should white men fight among themselves on a racial question? 'The liberties of America were won by white men for white men, by our race for our race.' [7] Let discord and hatred be banished from the hearts of fellow citizens, 'descendants of a common revolutionary ancestry.' [8]

Many Senators, like Mason of Virginia, were for the bill solely because they thought it would deprive such men as

[1] Quoted with editorial approval by the Weekly *National Intelligencer*, March 4, 1854.
[2] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 232. [3] Butler, *ib.*, 233–4.
[4] Butler, *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 234.
[5] *Ib.*, 237. [6] Hunter, *ib.*, 226.
[7] Toombs, *ib.*, 351. [8] Badger, *ib.*, 149.

Seward, Chase, and Sumner of all pretext for slavery agitation: 'their vocation will be gone, . . . and they will expire, as they deserve to expire, howling — howling like fiends attempting to destroy the country.' [1] Douglas wrote to Cobb that the bill would 'triumph and impart peace to the country and stability to the Union.' [2]

Northern Senators, especially those from Western States, used harsher language than Southern Senators.[3] 'Sir, if the time shall ever come' when the North prevents Southern citizens from recovering their runaway slaves, 'the time for dissolution will have arrived, and ought to arrive,' exclaimed Weller of California.

'Yes, sir,' interrupted Dodge of Iowa; 'ought to arrive.'

Who inspired the false and iniquitous propaganda against the South, asked Weller? 'Men who are constitutionally fond of attending to everybody's business except their own. . . . During the last ten years I have directed my particular attention to that point, and whenever I came across an Abolitionist, I have endeavored to find out his social character; and in nine cases out of ten I have discovered that he was an intermeddler in the affairs of others.'

Weller must spend and end his days 'upon the shores of the Pacific,' he said, and neither North nor South had any claims on him. So he was not a '"Northern man with Southern principles." I scorn the imputation. I am an American with constitutional principles.' The Compromises of 1820 and 1850 were in direct conflict, he said, and he chose the latter because they were right.[4] A journalist who was there recorded that 'the galleries and the grave Senators joined in a rapturous burst of applause.' [5]

Talk of human equality was 'a self-evident lie,' cried Senator John Pettit of Indiana, and it was no less false to say that the bill would 'create' slavery in those Territories, for it will not prosper there. Minnesota, Washington, Oregon, Utah, and

[1] Mason, *ib.*, 299.

[2] April 2, 1854. *Rept. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1911, II, 343.

[3] Wilson, II, 390–1.

[4] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 197–201. From the first this had been the Democratic contention. *Washington Union*, Feb. 3, 1854.

[5] *Ib.*, March 5, 1854.

New Mexico would soon enter the Union and every one of them would be a free State. Inevitably Kansas and Nebraska would be the same. So let the North be just to the South which could not possibly recover her lost power.[1]

After an uncommonly close and unemotional argument in support of the bill — 'A SPEECH OF GRANITE,' as the *Washington Union* called it — Senator Moses Norris of New Hampshire suddenly turned on Sumner tigerishly. He had displayed 'self-conceited arrogance.' His pet phrase, 'Northern men with Southern principles,' was a 'gross, unmitigated insult to this body.' Sumner had urged resistance of law 'even unto blood' and yet, by a 'shameless violation' of courtesy and right, lectured the Senate on the 'sanctity of plighted faith.'

Sumner denied that he had counselled forcible resistance. Norris inserted Sumner's speech. How dare he denounce a majority of Northern Senators for doing what they thought was right![2]

Political advantage was the object of the leaders of the abolition faction, charged Dodge of Iowa. That fact 'alone accounts for the falsehood and virulence of their orators and their presses — carried to the treasonable extreme of demanding a . . . dissolution of the Union.' Seward was 'the Napoleon of this grand movement.' White and black could not be made equal and no negro with any 'common sense, ever asked for or expected that position.' How trivial the slavery question was compared with the development of the West. The settlers were hardy, industrious, intelligent men, capable of self-government — not the ignorant, shiftless riffraff at whom Seward sneered. Slave labor could not compete with such men in a Northern climate, testified Dodge.

The 'practical operation of this bill . . . will free several hundred Missouri and Arkansas negroes,' he asserted, since a few slave-holders might go to these Territories under arrangements to free their slaves after a while. But 'you rarely find a man, the owner of slaves, ready to dash in among a new community like that which will people Kansas and Nebraska.' Most immigrants

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 212–21.

[2] *Ib.*, 305–10. March 3, 1854.

even from Missouri and Arkansas, would be 'needy' persons who 'own no slaves.' In short, it was a certainty, Dodge declared, that Kansas and Nebraska would be 'filled with a population overwhelmingly free.' [1] Western men wanted no outside interference in their affairs.

As a member of the Committee on Territories, Dodge told what had been done in that body and lauded the conduct of Douglas. 'After the question was raised in the committee, and he was called on to act up to the principles established by the Compromise measures of 1850,' Douglas had 'met the crisis . . . as became the young and progressive Democrat who reported and carried the bills for the admission of Texas, Iowa, Florida, and Wisconsin into the Union; . . . as became the Senator who reported the bills admitting California as a State, and New Mexico and Utah as Territories.'

'You lie!' That, said Dodge, was his answer to the charge that he supported the bill to help or hurt 'any aspirant to the Presidency. . . . I am no man's man for that exalted station.'

Why had not Sumner, when reading the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which he said was a sacred and irrepealable compact, read the provision in it about fugitive slaves? That section of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 said that runaway slaves should be given up to their owners. Yet in one breath Sumner demanded the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and in another, asserted the sanctity and permanence of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 which contained a fugitive slave provision.[2]

Finally the end of the debate approached. When the Senate convened on March 3, 1854, Senator John Bell of Tennessee made a long speech against the bill. Of course Douglas's idea was 'statesmanlike' — the extension of the great Northwest, the construction of a Pacific railroad with an eastern terminus on the Iowa or Missouri line — and doubtless the people would be thrilled by 'the grandeur of his plans;' but the bill was untimely.

[1] This was the sentiment of Iowa and other western border States at that time. *Miners Express* (Iowa) and *Milwaukee News*, in *Washington Union*, Feb. 15, 1854. The Wisconsin paper said that the Kansas-Nebraska bill would not 'add one inch of slave territory to the United States.'

[2] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 375–83.

This was touching closely upon the tremendous project behind the measure.[1] Douglas hastened to disavow any 'grand scheme' — he had none, he assured the Senate, except to open the Nebraska country to settlement under the principles of popular self-government. Bell said that he did not mean to be 'offensive' — he knew what an ardent and sincere expansionist Douglas was:

'I think for a long time he has had a passion, amounting to a sort of mania, for the organization of new Territories, and the founding of new States.' Behold those which Douglas had already created! 'It seems . . . that it will not be long before he will have succeeded in organizing three or four more.' If Americans were Romans, Douglas would be 'entitled, not to one, but to ten civic crowns!' Bell hoped that Douglas would not be offended, by the comparison.

'Certainly not,' said Douglas, amid laughter.

Bell utterly disapproved of the Missouri Compromise, he declared; but its repeal would only stir up agitation. The support of the bill by the South had been won by that device; but the South would get no practical benefit from it — it would 'prove utterly barren — bearing neither fruit nor flower' to that section. Indeed most Southern Senators to whom Bell had talked, admitted that slavery never would go to Kansas or Nebraska. Why, then, invite storms of protest, when nothing tangible could be gained.[2]

Through hectic hours the debate dragged on, enlivened now and then by angry words, by wit and laughter, and, sometimes though rarely, by flashes of eloquence. Twilight fell and the candles were lighted. At eleven o'clock, Douglas, wearied and disgusted, moved to adjourn. Senators objected. Douglas offered to waive his right to close if the Senate would come to a vote at once. But no! Sumner wanted to speak. Houston wanted to speak. At last, near midnight, Douglas took the floor.

[1] Notwithstanding Bell's opposition to the bill, many in Tennessee were for it, because it would facilitate the building of the Pacific Railroad, and would prevent future slavery agitation in Congress — there would be no more Northern or Southern Senators and Representatives battling for abolition on the one hand, or 'Southern Rights' on the other. Letter from Nashville in *Washington Union*, March 4, 1854.

[2] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., xxix, Appendix, 407-15.

Late as was the hour, galleries, aisles, and corridors were thronged. Douglas spoke until nearly daylight. His speech was an intellectual and physical feat. Newspaper correspondents always made note of Douglas's prodigious endurance, his powerful mind, his compelling personality,[1] and on that stormy March night those qualities were called into fullest action. It was 'the greatest speech of his life,' the editor of the *Washington Union* thought, and even Douglas's admirers 'were surprised at his . . . genius.' [2]

Much of his speech was a restatement of arguments made when opening the debate; but he evaded no objection made to the bill. The vastness of the Kansas-Nebraska domain was a common feature of such legislation, he said; look at the Northwest Territory, not long ago a stupendous wilderness, now five splendid states. Territorial Government had been too long delayed. Over those boundless plains, peopled by savages, more than a hundred thousand Americans made their way every year, without the slightest protection. It was the same with mails and official communications. Time and again he had offered bills for the safe-guarding of emigrant routes and opening the country, and they had been thrust aside as of no importance. And now, when there was a chance to organize Territorial Governments, he was told that there were no people there to govern.

The Committee on Territories were 'not volunteers in this business' — they had merely done their duty in reporting and perfecting the bill. Their task had been hard and delicate. They knew that the 'abolition doctrine' of congressional interference with slavery in the Territories, had been urged since 1820 and had kept up 'an incessant slavery agitation in Congress, and throughout the country, whenever any new Territory was to be acquired or organized,' but they also knew that congressional intervention which had caused all the trouble had been supplanted in 1850 by the principle of popular self-government, and the Committee had acted accordingly. Yet this unavoidable

[1] Poore, I, 498.

[2] *Washington Union*, March 5, 1854. The *Union* printed a Sunday edition, so eager was the public for particulars of the debate.

Henry Wilson in his book published twenty years later (1875) admitted that Douglas's 'speech was able, adroit, defiant, and denunciatory.' Wilson, II, 393.

performance of a plain duty had brought upon Douglas 'denunciation and abuse.'

Assailants of the bill had followed 'in Indian file, the narrow and crooked path,' marked out by the abolition confederates in their 'manifesto.' They had tried to make the country believe that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was 'the main object and aim of the bill.' They knew that the repeal was only 'a mere incident;' yet 'they make war on the means by which we propose to accomplish an object instead of openly resisting the object itself.'

Douglas quoted from his speech in the Senate in 1850, in which he had thrice asserted that the people of the Territories should settle for themselves all their domestic questions including that of slavery; and from his Chicago speech before 'an excited and frenzied multitude' in which he had said the same thing even more emphatically. He had been forced to make the Chicago speech, he said, 'in order to arrest and suppress the treasonable purposes of these Abolition confederates, and avert the horrors of civil war.'

And now these same 'Abolition confederates' had 'perpetrated a monstrous forgery in that speech,' making Douglas say that he 'would "cling with the tenacity of life to the Compromise of 1820."' [1] That falsehood — that 'deliberate act of forgery' — was the 'staple article out of which most of the Abolition orators of the small anti-Nebraska meetings manufacture the greater part of their speeches.'

It was after the Chicago speech had been printed in the newspapers and circulated in pamphlet form, that the Legislature of Illinois rescinded its instructions to Douglas and Shields to vote for the prohibition of slavery in the Territories and, instead,

[1] This version was printed in the *New York Evening Post*, Feb., 1854. The *Washington Union*, Feb. 12, printed this and the correct quotation from Douglas's speech as follows:

New York Evening Post version	Correct version
'I am prepared to stand or fall by the American Union, clinging with the tenacity of life to all its glorious memories of the past, and the precious hopes of the future, and among those glorious memories of the past, I pronounce the Compromise of 1820 to be one.'	'For my part, I am prepared to maintain and preserve inviolate the Constitution as it is, with all its compromises, to stand or fall by the American Union, clinging with the tenacity of life to all its glorious memories of the past and precious hopes of the future.'

adopted resolutions approving the Compromise of 1850 and specifically declaring that the people of Territories should establish such governments as they pleased, without any limitation whatever.

Yet Chase, Sumner, and the other 'Abolition confederates,' now assert that such a thing was never suggested before Douglas reported the Kansas-Nebraska bill and that it was a 'sheer afterthought.'

The amendments to the bill had been made solely to remove 'all doubt and cavil as to the true meaning and object of the measure.' Did his opponents deny that the original bill had the legal effect of repealing the Missouri Compromise? Let them rise in their places and say so, if they thought otherwise. Turning to Chase and Sumner, Douglas demanded an answer. Both were silent and Douglas exclaimed: 'I despair of extorting a response from them.'

They dare not answer, said Douglas, for they would be confounded by their Appeal which he held in his hand, a slanderous document published to the world before a single amendment to the bill had been made. Yet, in their speeches since, they had asserted that the Committee did not intend at first to repeal the Missouri Compromise. If their speeches were true, what apology could they make to the Senate and the country for having 'falsified . . . over their own signatures,' the action of a Senate Committee?

Frequently Seward interrupted with suavity and politeness and always Douglas yielded with equal graciousness. Once Seward could not restrain his admiration for Douglas: 'I have never had so much respect for him as I have to-night.'

Humorously Douglas answered: 'I see what course I have to pursue in order to command the Senator's respect. I know now how to get it. [Laughter.]'

It was to evade the true and real issue, that the 'Abolition confederates' had raised the false cry of 'violated compact,' Douglas asserted. That was the purpose of the Appeal, and it had misled the people. 'In consequence of arousing passions and prejudices, I am now to be found in effigy, hanging by the neck, in all the towns where you have the influence to produce

such a result. . . . In your State, sir [turning to Chase], I find that I am burnt in effigy in your Abolition towns. What will your people think of you when they find that you have deceived them?'

Chase said he was sorry for what had happened in Ohio — he never had intended to injure Douglas.

In dangerous mood, Douglas turned upon him and repeated the offensive phrases of the Appeal. Did not Chase write and publish all that to the world, and everything else calculated to bring insult and disaster upon Douglas — 'not even excepting the insulting letters which I have received from his constituents, rejoicing at my domestic bereavements, and praying that other and similar calamities may befall me?'

And now Chase avowed that 'he meant nothing unkind.' He could not 'impugn a gentleman's motives! No! not he!' Douglas said he had been burned in effigy even in Boston; but no wonder, for Sumner lived there. Douglas's attack became a philippic. The galleries burst into applause.

Then for a time, Douglas calmly resumed his argument as though nothing unusual had happened. Soon, however, he turned again on Sumner and Chase. Sumner's catchword, 'a Northern man with Southern principles,' was 'a disreputable insinuation,' thundered Douglas. The galleries roared with applause. How dare those abolition confederates impeach his motives? Were Chase and Sumner 'incapable of conceiving that an honest man can do a right thing from worthy motives?' Did their own record as seekers of political preferment entitle them to 'judge the character and principles of other Senators?'

'I must be permitted to tell the Senator from Ohio, that I did not obtain my seat in this body either by a corrupt bargain or a dishonorable coalition! I must be permitted to remind the Senator from Massachusetts that I did not enter into any combinations or arrangements by which my character, my principles, and my honor, were set up at public auction or private sale in order to procure a seat in the Senate of the United States!'

'But there are some men whom I know that did,' cried the pugnacious Weller, looking at Chase.

'Do you say that I came here by a bargain?' demanded Chase.

The Senate was in confusion. It was now nearly four o'clock in the morning, and Douglas was closing his speech with a storm of invective. Those who had branded him as a criminal plotter should not escape unwhipped of exposure and public scorn.

Chase explained that in the Appeal he had not intended to 'impute . . . any improper motive' to Douglas. All great measures were influenced by political campaigns. Ambition to be President, was not unworthy; nor was it improper to champion a bill to advance such an ambition, if the bill was good. Chase thought that the Kansas-Nebraska bill was not 'a right one,' Douglas thought it was. It was merely a difference of opinion. 'I do not make, and I do not desire to make, any personal imputations upon him in reference to a great public question.'

Weller tried to answer, but Douglas refused to allow him 'to come into the ring at this time.' The quarrel was his 'peculiar business,' growled Douglas. Then with mingled scorn and contempt, he made a sorry exhibition of Chase. The Appeal had charged that Douglas's motive for reporting the bill was to secure the Presidency; yet, to shield himself, Chase now declared that he had not meant to impute improper motives to Douglas, since a desire to be President was not 'unworthy.'

Oh, no! Chase had not said an unkind thing of Douglas personally: he 'only said . . . that my bill was a "criminal betrayal of precious rights;" he only said it was an "atrocious plot against freedom and humanity;" he only said that it was "meditated bad faith;" he only spoke significantly of "servile demagogues;" he only called upon the preachers of the Gospel . . . to denounce and resist such a monstrous iniquity.' But now, when called to account, Chase assured Douglas and the Senate, that he intended 'no personal disrespect' by the use of such language.[1]

The Senate chamber was now charged with intense excitement. Weller could no longer restrain his feelings, and Douglas yielded to the aroused Californian for a few minutes. He had

[1] Douglas 'was abundantly justified in this castigation; for never before has a public man been so hunted and hounded as Judge Douglas. Not only his character as a Senator, but his reputation as a man, has been vilely traduced; and so far has this fiendish war been conducted, that his enemies have not scrupled [to make] the foulest allusions to his recent domestic affliction!' *Washington Union*, March 5, 1854.

been a citizen of Ohio, Weller said, when Chase was elected, and he proposed to state the facts about that event. The Legislature was to elect certain Judges of the Supreme Court; members of the Board of Public Works were to be appointed. A few Abolitionists in the Legislature held the balance of power between the Whig and Democratic parties. As the result of a deal, the Ohio 'black laws' were repealed, 'certain Democrats' made Judges, and Chase elected to the Senate. 'Those facts transpired about the time I left the State for California.'

Chase explained that all Democrats, and none but Democrats in the Legislature of Ohio had voted for him, that certain Democrats who agreed with him on slavery but belonged to the old organization had been made Judges, but that the Legislature repealed the 'black laws' before the election of Senator and Judges.

'Was not that part of the agreement which resulted in your election?' asked Weller.

'So far as I know,' it had nothing to do with it, answered Chase.

It had happened the very year that he had left for California, said Weller, 'and I was very glad to have an opportunity of changing my residence on that remarkable occasion. [Laughter.]'

Sumner denied that he was 'a party, in any way, directly or indirectly, to those efforts which placed me here.' He shrank instinctively from personal altercations, he said; but it was false that he had been elected to the Senate by 'any waiver of principles; . . . by any effort or activity of my own.' Moreover, the Senate had no jurisdiction, 'at this time, to try my election to the Senate.'

Sumner had better have kept quiet. If he resented reference to the circumstances of his election, Douglas retorted, if he shrank from 'personal assaults,' if his principles were so lofty, his sensibility so delicate, 'he should . . . refrain from assaulting the character and impugning the motives of better men than himself.' His great voice booming through the Senate Chamber, his short but powerful body vibrant with rage, his heavy mass of black hair disordered and erect, 'blue fire' flaming from his eyes,

Douglas, in the murky candlelight of the morning hours, presented a weird and terrible figure to the tired but alert Senators and to the throng of spectators who had stayed throughout that stormy night.

Sumner had invited castigation — he received it. 'Everybody knows,' thundered Douglas, 'that he came here by a coalition or combination between political parties holding opposite and hostile opinions. . . . It will not do for the Senator to say that he was not a party to it, for he thereby betrays a consciousness of the immorality of the transaction, without acquitting himself of the responsibilities which justly attach to him. As well might the receiver of stolen goods deny any responsibility for the larceny, while luxuriating in the proceeds of the crime, as the Senator to avoid the consequences resulting from the mode of his election, while he clings to the office.'

Harder and harder did Douglas wield the lash on Sumner. 'I must be permitted to remind him of what he certainly can never forget, that when he arrived here to take his seat for the first time, so firmly were Senators impressed with the conviction that he had been elected by dishonorable and corrupt means, there were very few who, for a long time, could deem it consistent with personal honor to hold private intercourse with him. So general was that impression, that for a long time he was avoided and shunned as a person unworthy of the association of gentlemen.'

Douglas told how Sumner had 'gradually' overcome this personal dislike by 'bland manners and amiable deportment; and I regret that the Senator should now, by a violation of all the rules of courtesy and propriety, compel me to refresh his mind upon these unwelcome reminiscences.'

So much for Sumner. Now for Wade who had signed the Appeal without knowing what it contained! Wade had said that 'he did not consider himself any better than a free negro. I have only to say,' sneered Douglas, 'that I should not have noticed it if none but free negroes had signed it!'

And Seward! He had promptly denied having signed the Appeal — denied any knowledge whatever of it. Yet it had been circulated with Seward's name attached. Very well! 'Who

forged the name of the Senator from New York?' enquired Douglas.

Chase said he did not know.

'Not a satisfactory answer,' exclaimed Douglas, 'from men who had written and published a paper 'filled with insult and calumny,' with forged names attached to give it respectability! It was not enough now for Chase to make a 'technical denial that they committed the crime. Somebody did forge other people's names to that document,' Chase and Sumner 'plead guilty to the authorship and publication;' let them show 'who committed the forgery.'

Dropping 'these personal matters,' which he had made note of only 'in self-defence,' he summed up his argument briefly and closed with an appeal for Western development and for national policies and parties.[1]

'I tell you, sir, you must provide for continuous lines of settlement from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean.' And upon what principles — those of popular self-government or those of Congressional interference? The Missouri Compromise was interference; the Compromise of 1850 was self-government, the very heart of American institutions.

The bill was drawn on that principle. It would 'destroy all sectional parties and sectional agitations,' since it would 'withdraw the slavery question from the Halls of Congress and the political arena,' and give it to the people affected by it, and therefore there would be 'nothing left out of which sectional parties can be organized.' Only sectional parties could endanger the Union, and only the slavery question could create such parties. 'When the people of the North shall all be rallied under one banner, and the whole South marshalled under another banner, and each section excited to frenzy and madness by hostility to the institutions of the other, then the patriot may well tremble for the perpetuity of the Union.'

Relegate the slavery question to Territories and States, and

[1] Speaking of Douglas's speech as a whole, the editor of the *Washington Union* who heard all of it, declared that 'it is vain to attempt a description of this really great effort. . . . It may well be ranked with those proud and memorable achievements of intellect which have given the American Senate the just renown of being the ablest deliberative body in the world.' *Washington Union*, March 5, 1854.

'such a catastrophe can never happen. Then you will never be able to tell, by any Senator's vote for or against any measure, from what State or section of the Union he comes.' Why not do this sensible and patriotic thing? Why not 'deprive these agitators of their vocation, and render it impossible for Senators to come here upon bargains on the slavery question?' Nothing but the principles of the Revolution, of the Constitution, of the Great Compromise could restore peace, harmony, and perpetuity to the Union.

'Mr. President, I have not brought this question forward as a Northern man or as a Southern man . . . [but] as an American Senator. . . . I have brought it forward not as an act of justice to the South more than to the North,' but to both, and 'especially . . . to the people of those Territories and . . . States . . . now and in all time to come. . . .

'Northern rights and Southern rights! I know of no such divisions or distinctions under the Constitution.' The bill did equal and exact justice to all sections, all territories, and 'the whole Union.' Enemies of the bill had made none but sectional appeals — not one of them 'would bear repetition one mile across Mason and Dixon's line:' friends of the bill had championed a great national principle 'which can be sustained by the same reasons in every time and in every corner of the Union.' [1]

The historic debate was over. The Senate, exhausted and impatient, was ready to vote. Sumner made no reply as he had said he would. Chase was silent, too. Of course the astute and prudent Seward had nothing to say. But one of the Southern leaders insisted upon the last word. It was nearing five o'clock in the morning when Senator Sam Houston of Texas addressed the Vice President.

Speaking, he said, even as dawn was breaking, he must pro-

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., xxix, Appendix, 325–38. This idea, that opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill was sectional and that the principles of that measure were national, was one of the most powerful arguments of supporters of the bill and was strongly and incessantly urged by them.

The *Washington Union*, March 4, 1854, went so far as to say that if the Democrats had joined the Abolitionists as Northern Whigs had done, the Union would have been dissolved almost automatically. Everybody knew that Northern Whigs and some Democrats were now controlled by the Abolitionists and, on that account, were coming out against the bill. *Ib.*, March 7, 1854.

test against the passage of the bill. Behold the tempest of opposition raging throughout the North. That hurricane would not die down. What benefits would the South secure? Not one. 'I want no empty promises. They have not been asked for by the South. . . . Will it [the bill] secure those Territories to the South? No, sir, not at all. . . . Honorable gentlemen from the South . . . characterize it as a miserable, trifling, little measure.' Would that relieve the 'uneasiness' of the South, 'allay the agitation of the North, . . . preserve the Union,' sustain political parties? 'No, sir, they all go to the wall!'

With almost pathetic ardor, the old hero of San Jacinto urged his plea. The South had not asked for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he repeated: 'I, as the most extreme Southern Senator upon this floor, do not desire it. If it is a boon that is offered to propitiate the South, I, as a Southern man, repudiate it. I reject it. I will have none of it.'

Let harmony be restored and preserved, pleaded Houston. Have regard for a venerated compact. For the sake of the Union, '*maintain the Missouri Compromise!* stir not up agitation! Give us peace!' [1]

Then, at twelve minutes after five o'clock, on the morning of March 4, 1854, the vote was taken, and the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed the Senate by a majority of nearly three to one.[2]

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 338–42.

[2] The vote was thirty-seven aye to fourteen nay. Nine Senators were absent. Of those Bright of Ind., Wright of N.J., Mallory of Fla., Democrats, and Clayton of Del., Pearce of Md., and Toombs of Ga., Whigs, were for the bill; and Everett of Mass., Cooper of Pa., Whigs, and Allen of R.I., Democrat, were against it. There were two vacancies, one from Vermont and one from North Carolina. So that the full Senate stood forty-three for the bill and seventeen against it. The vote is given in *ib.*, XXVIII, 532.

The Northern Senators for the bill were Cass and Stuart of Mich., Dodge and Jones of Iowa, Norris and Williams of N.H., Douglas and Shields of Ill., Pettit of Ind., Gwin and Weller of Cal., Brodhead of Pa., Thomson of N.J., and Toucey of Conn., all Democrats. Only four Northern Democrats voted nay, Dodge and Walker of Wis., Hamlin of Me., and James of R.I.

Two Southern Senators, Houston, Democrat, of Texas, and Bell, Whig, of Tenn. voted against the bill. *Washington Union*, March 7, 1854.

'Look at the list of names in favor of the bill; look at them, men and brethren of the North and of the South. . . . With such leaders, the Union will stand as safe from peril, and last as long as

"The hills,
Rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun."'

Ib., March 5, 1854.

Running messengers shouted the news throughout the slumbering capital. Soon the boom of cannon saluted the event.[1]

In utter despondency, Chase and Sumner slowly walked together down the granite steps of the Capitol out into the haze of coming day.[2] Douglas went home to the repose of victory. Other Senators sought their boarding-houses or hotels, elated or depressed. Yet even at that hour could be heard the thunders which, from New England farms and factories to the prairies of the West, had, for weeks, been gathering in depth and strength, and were soon to come roaring upon Washington and crash about the fearless and defiant Douglas.

By the time the bill was taken up in the House, that body had become well-nigh riotous. The storm aroused in the North by the Appeal had risen to the violence of a hurricane. The language of the opposition was frenzied. In the *Tribune* Greeley declared that it would be better to blow up the Capitol than to permit the diabolical measure to become a law.[3] Without generalship of the highest order and the stimulus of a courage and determination which nothing could shake, the bill could not possibly pass. Douglas supplied that needed daring and resolve.

Every moment of that desperate struggle found him in the House, counselling, inspiring, directing. Floor management of the bill had been placed in charge of the most accomplished parliamentarian in public life, Stephens of Georgia. The skill of that master of rules and procedure even now compels admiration.[4] But the mind and will of Douglas were the controlling and compelling force. At last the bill passed by a majority of thirteen. Pierce added his approval. Thus dawned an epoch in American history, and the career of Lincoln began.

[1] Schuckers, 156. [2] *Ib.*

[3] *Tribune*, May 10, 1854; Cutts, 96–7.

[4] Wilson, II, 400. 'It was admitted, alike by friend and foe, that the management of that severe parliamentary conflict was a most adroit and skilful exhibition of legislative strategy.'

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL MERGER: THE FIRST GREAT SPEECH

It does seem as if at last we should have a North. SUMNER to the Earl of Carlisle.

Efforts are being made to organize a great Northern sectional party. Whether it shall be called Whig, Abolition, Free Soil or Know Nothing, it will be the antagonist of the Democratic party. DOUGLAS: The Philadelphia Speech.

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. . . . Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong. Stand with the Abolitionist in restoring the Missouri Compromise, and stand against him when he attempts to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law. LINCOLN: The Peoria Speech.

'OH, when will the North be aroused,' wrote Sumner, while the Kansas-Nebraska bill was pending in the House. Let that section take charge of the National Government, he implored.[1]

For a long time this idea of a strictly Northern political organization to combat the South had been advanced, and Sumner was now the boldest and ablest supporter of that sectional plan. Both of the old national parties were incompetent to deal with the one great question of the age, insisted Sumner; 'abandon them and unite against the Despotism of Slavery,' he urged.[2] Greeley was quite as emphatic: 'Organize the North. . . . Elect none but northern Presidents who are *not* doughfaces.' [3]

We are now to witness the merging of associated groups into what finally is to become a compact and militant array, limited to the North — a combination of moral and economic forces, of ancient partisanship and racial prejudice, of industrial philosophy and religious exaltation. A new political party is arising, sectional in membership, national in policies.[4] And we are to see

[1] Sumner 'to a personal friend,' March 30, 1854. *Works*, III, 333.

[2] Sumner to F. W. Bird and James M. Stone, 'Mass. Committee,' May 29, 1854. *Ib.*, 353–4.

[3] New York *Tribune*, March 15, 1854. Italics *Tribune's*. This editorial gravely strengthened the feeling that a Northern political party was to be formed chiefly for the purpose of oppressing the South. *Washington Union*, March 17, 1854.

[4] See *Douglas:* Johnson, 260–2.

The movement for a new party began in Illinois before the Senate passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. A meeting at Rockford, March 18, adopted a resolution that 'The free

Lincoln's hesitation to fall into the new political alignment, his belated assent, and, finally, his whole-hearted acceptance.

Immediately after the Kansas-Nebraska Act became a law, a theatrical and tragic incident took place which whipped into fury anti-slavery sentiment throughout the North and aroused thousands who, theretofore, had been indifferent to the Fugitive Slave Law or even to the extension of slavery. Still more important, for the purposes of this narrative, that dramatic affair was powerfully influential in bringing into common action those political elements which won in the election of 1854, became steadily stronger thereafter, and soon united into a single political party.

While the debate was raging in the Senate over the Kansas-Nebraska bill, a slave of the name of Anthony Burns, belonging to one Colonel Suttle of Virginia, escaped to Boston. Burns, who was a kind of overseer for his master and had charge of the 'hiring out' of his fellow slaves, had hired himself out as a laborer on vessels at the wharves; it was easy to hide himself in one of the craft, and thus he made his way to the land of freedom. Writing to his brother, the letter reached Suttle, who at once went to Boston to recover his slave.

There was no question as to either identification or ownership. Under the Fugitive Slave Law Burns was seized and delivered to his owner. In the process tremendous excitement sprang up. A mob led by a minister, Thomas W. Higginson, and a free negro broke into the Court House to rescue the fugitive, the Federal officers resisted, a Deputy United States

States should now blot out all former political distinctions by uniting themselves into one great Northern Party.' *Rock River Democrat*, March 28, 1854.

At Freeport, a gathering of 'farmers and mechanics, without distinction of party,' adopted almost identical resolutions. *Illinois Journal*, April 5, 1854.

The Whig or Democratic Party '*never can be*' the party of freedom. *Free West*, May 4, 1854.

The *Chicago Press* deplored the 'organization of a northern party;' it was 'the first part in the program of the disunionists.' As quoted in *Illinois State Register*, Aug. 6, 1854.

Democratic papers said the new party movement was a plot for 'the derangement of our Union, and the establishment of a Northern Confederacy.' *St. Clair Weekly Tribune*, July 22, 1854.

'Unworthy prejudices are excited, the sacred name of Freedom is prostituted by the movers of this scheme, to evoke hatred to the South.' *La Salle Herald* as quoted in *Ottawa Free Trader*, July 1, 1854.

Marshal was killed. The mob withdrew and, after the regular adjudication of the case, Burns, surrounded by many police and Deputy Marshals, and escorted by eleven hundred soldiers, was taken to the wharf and put on board a vessel for Virginia.

It was a picturesque and melancholy procession. Along the route stores were closed, doors and windows draped in black, a coffin labeled 'The Funeral of Liberty' was suspended high above the street, a big flag, turned Union down, was bordered with mourning. The cost to the Government was more than forty thousand dollars — some estimated the expense at one hundred thousand dollars.[1]

It is impossible to overstate the effect of the Burns case on the public mind throughout the North. During the remainder of the year, the New York *Tribune*, which, be it remembered, was widely read in Illinois, was insistent and savage. Other anti-slavery papers were no less severe; anti-slavery speakers stormed. Everywhere the Burns 'outrage' was the subject of talk around firesides, on streets, in offices, and shops. No stronger influence could have been conjured to weld those groups which we are now to see coöperating, and which, when at last finally amalgamated, Lincoln is to lead. Yet, as far as we know, neither in the campaign before us nor ever afterward did he so much as make mention of this notable and historic case.

Having ever in mind, then, the impact on public feeling of the escape, pursuit, and rendition of Anthony Burns, let us observe the forces that operated to defeat the Democratic Party in 1854,

[1] For an impartial account of the Burns case, see Channing, VI, 107–11.

Twelve hundred dollars, the price at which Suttle held the slave, were raised in Boston by subscription; but the U.S. District Attorney refused to permit the sale until the case had been heard and decided, and objected to such a transaction in Massachusetts under any circumstances. The purchase was made, however, after Suttle and the negro reached Virginia, and Burns was sent to Canada where he became a preacher and died seven years after obtaining his freedom.

Four years later, the U.S. Commissioner, Edward G. Loring, who ordered the delivery of Burns to his owner, was removed from a State office on the address of the Legislature, and his license to lecture at the Harvard Law School was revoked. President Buchanan at once appointed Loring to be a Justice of the Court of Claims at Washington, and he served as such until his death in 1877.

Justice Benjamin R. Curtis, of the Supreme Court of the United States, was denounced for seeking the appointment to be Chief Justice by charging the grand jury that the Fugitive Slave Law was constitutional and binding.

brought Lincoln into active political life again and in the end made him President.

'IN THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD, AND IN HIS PRESENCE,' we 'solemnly protest against the passage of . . . the Nebraska bill,' said three thousand and fifty clergymen of New England in a memorial laid before the Senate, March 14, 1854.[1] This document was based on the Appeal, and, although brief, used some of the words of that historic indictment.

Instantly Douglas was on his feet. The purpose of such petitions, he said, was 'simply to furnish capital for organizing a great sectional party, and trying to draw the whole religious community into their schemes of political aggrandizement.'

'I told you that there would be agitation,' cried Houston. This protest of 'three thousand ministers of the living God upon earth — his vicegerents' — was a vindication of the Texan's foresight.

Since, in the person of its Chaplain, the Senate had an official expert on the subject, sarcastically observed Pettit of Indiana, he moved to refer the ministerial pronouncement to that dignitary, and request 'his official report on this question, as to whether we . . . have invoked the just and righteous judgments of God upon us . . . [laughter].'

With earnestness in notable contrast to Pettit's levity, Douglas declared that the preachers were striving to coerce Congress 'IN THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD.[2] . . . It involved a great principle, subversive of our free institutions.' But what did that matter to the preachers, since they assumed to be the mouthpiece of the Deity![3]

No, exclaimed Seward, they spoke only as citizens; but, 'being clergymen, being devoted to the . . . cure of souls, [they] have a language of their own.'[4]

The organization which had secured signatures to the New

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. I, 617, 621. Capitals those of the Protest.

Harriet Beecher Stowe proposed this remonstrance and paid the expenses of circulating it and sending it to Washington. Pierce, III, 366.

[2] Capitals Douglas's.

[3] Douglas truly said that the New England clerical protest was 'in response to that call which emanated from the Senate' — the Appeal.

[4] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. I, 617–23.

England memorial sent a copy of that document to every minister in the North;[1] and, as soon as the Chicago papers published the brief but sharp debate over the New England clerical remonstrance, twenty-five ministers of that city signed an identical protest, but added an even more specific assertion of their celestial agency.[2]

Promptly Douglas answered in a letter to the 'Reverend Gentlemen.' He objected to interference by the organized clergy, as such, with legislation and government, he said.[3] We shall hear Lincoln, in a single brief remark to men of that profession during the war, make the same point, but in a quizzical fashion that everybody instantly understood and laughed at.

Douglas's letter and the Senate debate did not check the clerical onslaught. Soon another rebuke, signed by five hundred and four preachers of the Northwest, the same as that of their Chicago brethren, was sent to Douglas.[4] From almost every pulpit in the North anathema was thundered against him.[5]

Clergymen of that section became political agents working with frenzied sincerity for what they believed a holy cause, and their labors were a mighty force for that amalgamation which created a new political party. Not for an instant did they question the accuracy of the Appeal.[6] Their exclamatory zeal was no greater than their profound integrity. Throughout the conflict about to open in Illinois, well-nigh every preacher was a fiery supporter of the side whose ablest advocate was Lincoln. But Douglas defied them. Thus, in the name of God and Christianity, a power of incalculable strength was arrayed against him and his party.

Yet another tremendous influence entered the struggle at this

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 656. [2] *Ib.*, 653–4.

[3] Douglas to the Chicago preachers, April 6, 1854. *Ib.*, 657–61. The *Washington Sentinel*, April 11, 1854, published Douglas's letter in full with strong editorial endorsement of his attack upon 'preacher politicians.' Many Democratic papers did the same thing.

[4] *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 653–5.

[5] An example of these sermons is that of Rev. R. H. Richardson, *Wickedness in High Places*, much of which Douglas read to the Senate. *Ib.*, 655–6.

[6] The Appeal was repeated in an Address to the People of the United States issued June 21, 1854, by members of the House who had opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. It was printed in the *Illinois Journal*, June 27, 1854. While this address made the same points as the Appeal, it was dull and verbose.

fateful hour, an element intimately related to the clergy. This was the secret political order popularly called the Know-Nothing Party.[1] It was the outcome of a nativist and Protestant movement against foreigners, against Roman Catholics, and, at the last and in the North, against slavery. It became historically noticeable soon after the beginning of the abolition assault.

The outstanding and immediate cause of this nativist-Protestant agitation, was the heavy and increasing immigration from Europe.[2] Most of these immigrants, especially the Irish, were Roman Catholics.[3] In New York, Philadelphia, and Boston the 'foreigners' took an active and, to the native born, an offensive part in politics. There were conflicts between Protestants and Catholics over school funds in New York, and the idea was advanced and spread rapidly that the Papacy and European monarchies were conspiring to overthrow American institutions and the Protestant faith.

Many secret societies had sprung up in aggressive hostility to what their members ardently believed to be this plot against the Republic and the religion of the Fathers, and these secret lodges became volcanic centres of nativist and Protestant propaganda. The Sons of '76, the United Americans, the Sons of the Sires, the American Republican Party,[4] and other like designations were the names adopted by these organizations. One of

[1] For an exhaustive and accurate account of the Nativist movement and its development into the Know-Nothing Party, see *Political Nativism in New York State:* Louis Dow Scisco.

A shorter but excellent treatment of the whole subject is the *Know-Nothing Party:* Humphrey J. Desmond. Also see *History of the Know-Nothing Party in Maryland:* Laurence Frederick Schmeckebier; and 'Know-Nothingism in Rhode Island,' Charles Stickney. *Procd'g's. R.I. Hist. Socy.*, 1892–93. For a lucid statement of nativism and the Know-Nothings, see Channing, VI, 129–38.

All statements in the sketch given in the text are from these authorities, except those from newspapers cited.

[2] Up to 1820, an average of 10,000 immigrants entered the United States annually. Thereafter the number increased rapidly, and became very great from 1845 to 1850, owing largely to the Irish famine. During these five years about 1,700,000 immigrants came to America. Desmond, 13–4.

[3] They were Democrats, too, because of their conception of Jackson's picturesque defeat of the British at New Orleans and the fact that he was a Democrat. *Ib.*, 24.

[4] Within four years from its organization in 1843, the American Republican Party broke up into several groups, such as the Good Fellows, the Red Men, the Druids, the Foresters, etc. Scisco, 62.

them, a society of young men formed to do street fighting, was called the 'Wide Awakes,' from their rallying cry.[1] This term survived and was applied to the marching clubs that carried torches and cheered belligerently in the campaigns which we are soon to review.

From the first these nativist and religious secret orders had affiliated with the Whigs, although Seward, when Governor of New York, had taken the side of the immigrants and Catholics in one of the many controversies over education, and steadily thereafter disapproved of the movement[2] — an attitude which, years afterward, cost him the nomination for the Presidency. Greeley, too, was opposed to it,[3] and so were Giddings and Wade. But, in general and strikingly, it was closely associated with the Whigs. The Democratic press of the country opposed this proscriptive movement from the time of its first open political activities;[4] it was, said many Democratic papers, a phase of the same state of mind that produced abolitionism.[5]

Late in 1853 these anti-foreign and anti-Catholic secret societies combined into a single political party, the Know-Nothings.[6] Many forces brought about this sudden coalition. One among them was the disintegration of the Whig Party which was then going on rapidly. Whigs who did not want to join their ancient enemies, the Democrats, embraced the new and mysterious organization.

Thus most Southern Whigs became Know-Nothings, but the

[1] The official name of the Wide Awakes was 'The Order of Free and Accepted Americans.' It was organized in New York City in 1854 by a young man of the name of William W. Patten. The members wore light felt hats when on their forays or parades. Scisco, 94–5.

[2] In the Senate, July 12, 1854. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXVIII, Pt. III, 1708–9. Seward so mercilessly assailed the order that the *Washington Sentinel*, although violently opposed to him, applauded his speech. July 15, 1854.

[3] The New York *Tribune* for 1854–55 contains constant attacks upon the Know-Nothings and their principles.

[4] *Hartford* (Conn.) *Times*, clipped in *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 11, 1844, and many Democratic papers of the time.

[5] *Washington Union*, Aug. 18, 1853; *Indiana State Sentinel*, May 30, June 29; *Washington Sentinel*, June 6, 1854, and the Democratic press generally for that and succeeding years.

[6] The official name of the party was, 'The Order of the Star Spangled Banner.' Greeley gave them the name of Know-Nothings. Desmond, 52–3.

order did not long survive in that section.[1] The great bulk of immigrants had gone North and West and the number of 'foreigners' in the South, while considerable, was very small in comparison; and, except in Louisiana, Maryland, and Florida, there were few Catholics in the slave States. Southern Know-Nothings, moreover, were emphatically for slavery, while most Northern members of the party finally came to oppose it. For these reasons this nativist and religious political party soon expired in the South.

In the North, however, its growth was speedy and prodigious during 1854. It swept New England, would have carried New York but for the astuteness of Seward and Weed, and it captured several Northern cities. The Protestant clergy were its most effective supporters; in some cities street preachers had long been proclaiming its doctrines; anti-Catholic and anti-foreign riots had been incited; and now in Massachusetts several ministers were elected, as Know-Nothings, to the Legislature which was almost solidly Know-Nothing. Henry Wilson, who had joined the order, was thus chosen as Sumner's colleague in the National Senate.[2]

Large numbers of Democrats who left their party because of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise also became Know-Nothings, almost automatically. They were in much the same case as were Free-Soilers and Whigs; being without a party, they drifted into the movement with which, on the whole, they were in harmony. Thus these 'anti-Nebraska Democrats,' as they were called, found themselves members of the secret order, and small was the Northern town that did not have a Know-Nothing lodge.[3]

The slogan of the Know-Nothings was 'Americans must rule America;' its leading principle, 'No Papacy in the Republic.' It demanded that immigration be restricted, that prolonged residence be required before an alien could be naturalized, that the

[1] For a contemporary account of the principles of the party in the South, see *The American Party, its Principles, its Objects and its Hopes:* An Address by Geo. Robertson, 1855.

[2] Pierce, III, 400–2.

[3] The Know-Nothing Party 'was a stepping-stone for many voters into the anti-Nebraska, and subsequently the Republican organization.' Schuckers: 161.

Bible be read and taught in the public schools, that no church schools for children be permitted and, above all, that no Catholic be elected to any office.[1]

The Know-Nothings were strongest and most violent in the cities, especially in those where immigrants were numerous or where these hated 'foreigners' had gone, before settling in various parts of the country. In these 'immigrant depots' the native workingmen were particularly hostile, since the newcomers were competitors, and almost to a man these 'American' laborers were members of Know-Nothing lodges. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago they were an important element of the Know-Nothing strength.

In May, 1854, the secret political party elected the Mayor and city officials of Philadelphia by a majority of over eight thousand.[2] It was a political revolution, and was loudly and widely proclaimed as a popular rebuke to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Democratic press, however, insisted that the Philadelphia upheaval was an exclusively Know-Nothing triumph; [3] and this appraisal was the more accurate. Opponents of the mysterious power that had so suddenly and unexpectedly seized the local government were dazed and alarmed.

On July 4, Douglas stopped in Philadelphia on his way from New York to Washington, and he was asked to make a speech. He consented, but only on condition that he would be allowed to denounce Know-Nothingism and defend the Kansas-Nebraska law. A sectional party was being formed, said Douglas, the heart of which was 'a secret society bound together by the most solemn and terrible oaths.' Yet religious freedom was the very corner-stone in the 'temple of our liberties. [Tremendous cheers.]' So let all Democrats stand together against the 'allied

[1] For a contemporary defence of the Know-Nothings, see *The Sons of the Sires; a History . . . of the American Party*, by An American. Philadelphia, 1855. The *Indiana State Sentinel*, July 13, 1854, contains a condensed and accurate statement of the 'American Platform.'

[2] The *Sons of the Sires* said that nearly all the officials thus put out of office were Irish. Desmond, 15.

[3] *Washington Union*, June 9, 1854. Also *Washington Sentinel*, June 9, 1854. 'Know-nothingism will turn out to be a fusion of northern whigs, abolitionists, and free-soilers . . . an amalgamation of all the odds and ends and isms of the country.' Also *ib.*, June 17, 1854.

forces of Abolitionism, Whiggism, Nativeism, and religious intolerance, under whatever name and on whatever field they may present themselves. [Enthusiastic cheers and tremendous applause.]' [1]

Such was Douglas's denunciation of the Know-Nothings when they were sweeping upward to the climax of their power. It was the first speech made against them by an eminent public man, and it rallied the national Democracy, as a party, to the standard thus raised by that daring leader. But his Philadelphia speech was, from his point of view, to produce an unhappy repercussion in Chicago and throughout Illinois.

Almost at the same time that the Know-Nothings startled the land with their vast and hidden power, a mighty wave of temperance reform poured over the country. For more than a score of years a crusade against the evils of drink had been carried on throughout the nation.[2] Professional lecturers, employed by various communities or supported by the offerings of temperance 'revival meetings,' had spoken everywhere; and temperance periodicals, pamphlets, books, and plays were almost as numerous and aggressive as those of the Abolitionists or the Know-Nothings.[3]

This reform movement was as strong in the South as in the North; but in the North it was anti-slavery, and Northern temperance lecturers and abolition speakers joined in lurid descriptions of the twin Demons. Many societies were organized

[1] Sheahan, 264–71. Douglas's speech was printed in full in the *Washington Sentinel*, July 18, 1854, with approving editorial comment. Thereafter that radical Democratic organ constantly attacked Know-Nothingism and the Know-Nothing Party. See *Washington Sentinel* for last half of 1854 and for 1855.

[2] For account of the anti-drink movement, see 'Temperance and Progress of the Century:' John G. Woolley and William E. Johnson, 109–27, being Vol. XXIV of the *Nineteenth Century*. As early as 1829 Lyman Beecher and other reformers were demanding prohibition. *Ib.*, 115. Also see *A Century of Drink Reform:* August F. Fehlandt (N. Y. 1904).

[3] Three books, published during this period, had profound and wide-spread effect on public opinion. They were *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, anti-Catholic; *Ten Nights in a Bar Room*, Temperance; and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Abolition.

Notwithstanding exposure by Protestant clergymen of Maria Monk as an impostor and her book, written by Rev. J. J. Slocum, as a volume of lies, it had a prodigious influence, and it continued to be published for many years. So great were the profits, that other salacious stories of the same character were published. See Desmond, 16, *et seq.*

to wage war upon strong drink, and one or another of them had penetrated into every county in the North.[1]

In 1851 the celebrated Maine Liquor Law was passed by the Legislature of that State, and was soon adopted throughout New England. Agitation for the enactment of this prohibition statute was vigorous in other sections. As we have seen, the temperance movement had been active while Lincoln was in the Legislature; by 1853 the question had become acute. During the campaign of 1854 in Illinois, prohibition was scarcely less influential than Know-Nothingism or the Kansas-Nebraska Act itself.[2] At some places in the State the campaign for the Maine Law was so ardent that violence was resorted to.[3]

Practically all immigrants from whatever country were against it, however, as were large numbers of native-born Americans. Thus a situation was created, to handle which sorely puzzled politicians, especially those who strove to capture for the new party great sections of foreigners, particularly the Germans. For these German immigrants had promptly and militantly responded to the Appeal and become an almost solid phalanx against the extension of slavery.[4] In fact the Germans

[1] For example: the Washingtonians, 1840; the Sons of Temperance, 1842; the Rechabites, 1842; the Cadets of Temperance (youths), 1845; the Templars of Honour and Temperance, 1845; the Good Samaritans, 1847; the Independent Order of Good Templars, 1851; etc. Woolley and Johnson, 87–109.

[2] In 1853 the Ill. Cent. R.R. threw its strength in favor of the adoption of the Maine Law, refused to transport liquor and required its agents to examine all boxes, casks, and barrels and reject them if they contained liquor. *Belleville Advocate*, Aug. 17, 1853.

'Temperance men, and temperance societies wield an immense influence in this State, and will crush any party that should openly oppose them.' *Alton Daily Courier*, Nov. 18, 1853, Feb. 24, 1854.

[3] The 'Temperance men' sometimes forcibly broke into groceries and storehouses, smashed barrels and casks, threatened liquor sellers, etc. *Illinois Journal*, April 1, 1854; *Peru* (Ill.) *Daily Chronicle*, April 28, 1854.

[4] 'No class of citizens have manifested more indignation at Douglas's scheme for extending slavery over the vast territory of Nebraska, than our immigrant and native Germans.' *Free West*, May 18, 1854. And see resolutions of a German meeting at Chicago. *Chicago Daily Democrat*, March 17, 1854. Also *ib.*, March 14, 1854.

'The whole German press and German population of the country . . . are against the proposition to establish slavery . . . over the great region of Nebraska.' *Illinois Journal*, March 15, 1854.

'The proposition to send slavery into the free territories . . . has aroused the indignation of the German press with hardly a single exception.' *Belleville Advocate*, March 8, 1854.

'The Germans . . . are to hold an anti-Nebraska Convention at Bloomington on the 12th and 13th of this month.' *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 12, 1854.

were a vital if not indispensable element of the new political alignment now forming: without them that organization could not have succeeded, and this was of first importance in Lincoln's political career from this time forward.

In general, the temperance movement coincided and co-operated with the nativist movement; and the Protestant ministry was as ardent for prohibition as it was for freedom. The decade before the Civil War was, in the North, a period of protest and reform; and while each group was intent on the accomplishment of its particular idea, all were for some innovation. More and more these elements were drawn into closer association, and the sentiment common to them all was hatred of slavery and opposition to the South.[1]

Another force operated to combine all parties and factions, antagonistic to the dominant political power in charge of the Government. That force was hard times. Toward the end of 1854 a financial depression was well under way which three years later became one of the economic catastrophes of American history. As we have seen, that depression was particularly severe in Illinois.[2] The usual resentment toward the party in power followed this collapse of prosperity and heavily influenced elections.

Moreover, there had been scandals and financial mismanagement. 'The people are determined to clean out the Augean stables,' wrote a farmer to an Illinois paper.[3] Farmers and workingmen were beginning to demand class favors from the Government.[4] When estimating the factors that finally merged into the Republican Party, serious account must be taken of the agrarian and industrial elements.

The shipping interests of Chicago had a special grievance. Harbor improvements, which they sharply needed and had

[1] 'The whigs, free-soilers, temperance men, and know-nothings, are to merge all interests into the one all-absorbing object of Nebraska repeal, and a furious attack on slavery.' *Washington Sentinel*, July 16, 1854.

[2] See Chapters IV and V of Vol. II of this work.

[3] *Belleville Advocate*, Sept. 13, 1854.

[4] 'It is the duty of the Governor of each free State to provide for the education of its farmers and mechanics in the line of their own occupation.' Resolution of a new party convention at Ottawa, Ill., Aug. 30, 1854, as reported by a correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, clipped in the *Free West*, Sept. 7, 1854.

energetically demanded, had not been made or provided for. Douglas had voted against the bill and Pierce had vetoed it.[1] Not a captain, engineer, or deckhand of any lake steamboat or sailing craft which tied up to Chicago docks, but was at that time a fighting enemy of the Little Giant; not a longshoreman but was his foe. Practically every man of them who was native born was a Know-Nothing, and all were against the institution of slavery. The same was true of those engaged in river commerce on the upper Mississippi; and, as we shall see, this fact had an appreciable influence in the approaching elections in Iowa and Illinois.

There was, in short, an accumulation of every force and influence that made for the overthrow of the existing political order. Even the soldiers of the War of 1812, their families, and friends, were clamoring for Government largess and were dissatisfied because they did not get it.[2]

Seldom has a public man ever faced so many hostile and even bellicose elements as those that confronted Douglas in Chicago and throughout Illinois in the late summer and early fall of 1854; and these forces persisted and grew stronger until, four years later, when other powerful influences were added to them, they seemed overwhelming and irresistible.

The entire press of Chicago had been bitterly hostile to Douglas until August, 1854, when a paper so friendly to him that he was charged with the ownership of it was started. It was called the *Chicago Times* and was edited by James W. Sheahan, a journalist of Washington.[3] To this paper, to the editor's per-

[1] The River and Harbor bill of 1854 made appropriations for improving the harbors of Dubuque, Ia., Chicago, etc., also for improving navigation on the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, and many other streams; and for the betterment of navigation of the great lakes. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 1st Sess., XXIX, Appendix, 1145–6.

The bill was debated for three days. *Ib.*, 1145–210. Douglas finally voted against it, because the appropriations affecting Illinois and Iowa rivers and harbors were too small even to begin the necessary improvements. Pierce vetoed the bill because it reached him too late for careful examination, because some appropriations were purely local, and because of doubtful constitutionality. At the opening of the next session, he sent another comprehensive and able message on the subject. *Messages:* Richardson, v, 256–71.

[2] The demand was that one hundred and sixty acres of land be granted to each soldier. *Aurora Guardian*, April 6; *Ottawa Free Trader*, May 27; *Rock River Democrat*, May 30, 1854.

[3] 'Our talented townsman.' *Washington Sentinel*, Sept. 7, 1854. See Lincoln's note in *Works*, VIII, 292.

sonal statements, and to Douglas's comment five years after the stirring scene we are now to witness, we owe the accounts favorable to him.

Soon after Congress adjourned in August Douglas went home. He afterward declared that he could have travelled from Boston to Chicago by the light of the burning effigies of himself. He was called 'Traitor Arnold,' 'Judas,' and similar names.[1] Ever since his report of the Nebraska bill and the circulation of the Appeal, a savage agitation against him and the measure he championed had been carried on, and in Chicago and Northern Illinois it was especially virulent. From the time he rebuked the Chicago preachers, the clergy had assailed him incessantly and with personal bitterness; and, after his denunciation of the Know-Nothings in his Philadelphia speech, the hostility to Douglas in Chicago was dangerously inflamed.

So menacing and perilous was the public temper that friends advised Douglas to stay away. He ignored their timid but well-grounded counsel, arrived at Chicago about August 25, and soon announced that he would speak at North Market Hall on the night of September 1. 'They threaten a mob but I have no fears. All will be right,' Douglas wrote to Lanphier from Chicago.[2] His supporters afterward maintained, and so did Douglas to his dying day, that carefully organized preparations had been made to insult and humiliate him publicly 'and, if possible, to prevent his being heard.'[3]

The hostile press told its readers to attend the meeting and not again 'to allow him to deceive the people by his sophistries.' One paper, appealing directly to the prejudices of the Know-Nothings, announced that 'Mr. Douglas had selected a body-guard of five hundred Irishmen, who, with arms in their hands, were to be present, and compel . . . silence while he spoke.' Next day another journal spoke darkly of 'a season of violence . . . every revolver and pistol in the stores of the city had been sold, and there were orders for a large number yet unfilled.'[4]

[1] *Douglas:* Johnson, 258.

[2] Aug. 25, 1854, Lanphier MSS. 'Please give the notice in your paper [of the time and place of the Chicago meeting] as I have received many letters asking to be informed of the time of the meeting. Come up if you can and bring our friends with you.'

[3] Sheahan, 271. [4] *Ib.*, 272.

Some years afterward, Douglas himself asserted that long before the meeting the Know-Nothings had wired to New York for firearms. The belief was strongly impressed on the general mind that violence would occur when Douglas tried to speak and that he 'intended to overawe the public by an armed demonstration.' [1] Whatever the cause, the mob spirit had been created, and was revealed hours before the time of the meeting.

At one o'clock that afternoon flags on several boats at the docks were lowered to half-mast. At dusk church bells began to toll all over the city, and the melancholy message continued to be rung until Douglas appeared. It was one of the hottest nights Chicago ever had experienced, and the meeting was held in the square instead of in the Hall.[2] Eight thousand excited people, nearly all of them men, densely packed the space before the speaker's stand. Hundreds crowded windows and balconies, and even stood on roofs of adjacent houses. In that turbulent assembly, Sheahan says, many Know-Nothings 'were armed to the teeth.'

Ominous silence greeted Douglas when he began to speak; but after a few sentences 'a storm of hisses' arose. The opposition press declared that Douglas flew into a rage and hurled insults at his tormentors; [3] his friends insisted that he was unmoved, calm, determined. He managed to utter a few more sentences — the crowd did not understand the Kansas-Nebraska Act, he said, because the papers that had assailed it and abused him had not published it. Hisses, cat-calls, boos, and vile epithets were the response. His friends in the crowd were so angered that they wanted to fight. Douglas restrained them — he would deal with the mob himself. The editor of the *Chicago Times* testifies, that some of the armed Know-Nothings afterward told him 'that nothing prevented bloodshed that night but the bold and defiant manner in which Douglas maintained his ground.' [4]

Amid groans, yells, derisive songs, Douglas read, so loudly that it was 'heard above the infernal din,' a letter warning him

[1] Cutts, 98. [2] All Chicago papers of Sept. 2–4, 1854.

[3] *Chicago Daily Democrat, Chicago Tribune,* Sept. 2, 3, 4, 1854; *Free West,* Sept. 7, 1854.

[4] Sheahan, 272–3.

that if he spoke he would be roughly handled.[1] In high temper he denounced the *Tribune* for having caused the disturbance — cheers for that paper were the response. He had come there to speak and would stay until the crowd would hear him, thundered Douglas.

> 'We won't go home till morning, till morning, till morning,
> We won't go home till morning, till daylight doth appear,'

sang his tormentors, and cheered vociferously.[2]

Time and again Douglas was asked why he had voted against the River and Harbor bill, but he stuck to his idea of trying to talk about popular sovereignty. He managed, however, to denounce the Know-Nothings, 'for which he received no lack of groans.'[3] Finally, after more than two hours of futile effort, Douglas gave up and left the stand. For the first time in his life he had suffered humiliation and defeat. Guarded by friends, he made his way through the crowd and went to the Tremont House, followed by shouted insult and execration.[4]

Such was the beginning of Douglas's fight for the Kansas-Nebraska Act in Illinois in the autumn of 1854. News of that savagely picturesque event was published throughout the

[1] Sheahan, 273. [2] *Free West*, Sept. 7, 1854.

[3] *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 2, clipped in *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 5, 1854.

[4] From the time of the final passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, it was said that Douglas would be mobbed on his return to Chicago. *Illinois State Register*, June 15, 1854.

In announcing Douglas's arrival in Chicago, the *Tribune* said: If 'he attempts to get up what he calls a "vindication" of his crimes; if he collects around him a crowd of Irish rowdies and grog-house politicians, and attempts to send forth their approbation as "the voice of the people of Chicago," it will not be our fault if he arouses a lion which he cannot tame.' Clipped in the *Washington Sentinel*, Sept. 1, 1854.

The *Chicago Daily Democratic Press* (anti-Douglas), Sept. 4, clipped in *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 5, 1854, said that, while preparations had been made to prevent Douglas from speaking, the cause of the tumult was his offensive manner, bearing, and words; and that provocative threats of his friends, before his return to Chicago, had stirred up bad feeling.

Rival accounts were printed in the *Chicago Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 2, and were republished in the *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 4 and 5, 1854. Both stories are highly partisan and prejudiced, that of the *Times* being wrathful and that of the *Tribune* exultant; but, in the main, both agree as to the tumultuous disorder in the crowd.

Three days later the *Tribune*, Sept. 4, published an alarming statement under the caption 'DOUGLAS NOT YET SATISFIED,' that Douglas intended to speak that afternoon at Dearborn Park and 'attempt, then and there, to excuse his efforts to defeat the River and Harbor bill, and thus prevent the repairing of the piers and our harbor, whereby the lives of hundreds of our mariners are yearly perilled. This issue he dodged entirely on

United States. Generally the press condemned the outrage,[1] but many papers approved it. The demonstration was but the natural outburst of the people's wrath against the betrayer of liberty to the Slave Power, they said; nothing but the inevitable explosion of righteous public indignation at the base truckler to Southern Aristocracy, who had broken a 'sacred compact' and sacrificed freedom to gain the Presidency.

The Democratic press throughout Illinois bitterly denounced the Chicago disturbance. Here, said Democratic editors, was an example of Abolition-Whig-Free-Soil-Know-Nothing devotion to liberty; those political allies loved it so much that they suppressed freedom of speech and suppressed it by mob violence; they cared so much for negroes that they would not permit white men to talk about the American Constitution.[2] They dared not let Douglas speak for fear that he would repeat his triumph of four years earlier.[3] As long as he lived, Douglas himself insisted that the riot was the work of the Know-Nothings.[4]

But the Chicago demonstration did not dismay him — rather it stimulated him. Quickly he plunged into the campaign throughout the State, first going to the strong 'anti-Nebraska' counties adjacent to Chicago.[5] Everywhere he was received with indignity and insult. Burning effigies of himself hanging by the neck, offensive mottoes, and placards greeted his arrival at many towns. Often the Chicago tactics were attempted, but never again were they successful, for Douglas was heard.[6]

Friday night. Do not permit this scheme to circumvent you. Leave for two hours, your workshops and your labor, and turn out once more to give a final blow to the traitor. . . . CITIZENS AND SAILORS, *Turn Out! Do not permit this to be done* [endorsement of Douglas]! YOU CAN PREVENT IT AND YOU WILL DO IT.' Clipped in *Washington Sentinel*, Sept. 8, 1854.

Douglas's paper, the *Times*, said nothing about such a proposed meeting, and, except for the *Tribune's* story, no evidence has been discovered that this second meeting was ever planned or contemplated.

[1] The *Washington Union* during Sept., 1854, printed large numbers of editorial denunciations by papers all over the country. Old line Whig papers, like the *National Intelligencer* (Weekly, Sept. 16, 1854), also condemned the Chicago mob.

[2] *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 4, 5, 1854. [3] Sheahan, 273–4.

[4] Douglas's statement in Cutts, 98. And see *Douglas:* Johnson, 263–4.

[5] Before beginning his Illinois campaign, Douglas spoke to a great Democratic Mass Meeting at Indianapolis on the afternoon of Sept. 6, 1854. *Indiana State Sentinel*, Sept. 7, 1854; and *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Sept. 6, 1854.

[6] Sheahan, 274.

Always his speech was the same — the basic American principle of local self-government; the development of the West; the sectional nature of the Missouri Compromise and yet the refusal of Northern Whigs, Free-Soilers, and Abolitionists to observe even the line of that measure; his own attempts, as a matter of good faith, to stop slavery agitation, to extend the Missouri line to the Pacific, and the defeat of his efforts; the abandonment of a sectional and adoption of a national principle by the Great Compromise; the logical, natural, and necessary application of that principle to Kansas and Nebraska; the impossibility, as a practical matter, that slavery could long exist in Kansas or Nebraska because of soil, climate, and the resultant products of agriculture.[1]

Nor did Douglas ever fail to assail the Know-Nothings.[2] These attacks inflamed still more the anger which his Philadelphia speech had aroused, and retaliation continued. It was charged that Douglas advocated Roman Catholicism as the only true religion; that he asserted that foreigners deserved better treatment than 'descendants of revolutionary sires;'[3] that his 'coarsest and most abusive epithets' were showered upon the Know-Nothings.[4] 'Douglas cursed the Christian in the United States senate,' and 'he cursed the true American' in Philadelphia, wrote an anonymous contributor to the *Illinois Journal*.[5]

Incessantly the charge was reiterated that Douglas was a slave-holder, and that the purpose of his advocacy of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was to swell his private fortune by increasing the demand for slaves. This accusation, indeed, was

[1] Douglas's Senate speech had been printed in pamphlet form and widely circulated in Illinois. *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 29, 1854.

Douglas's campaign speech, as finally perfected, was made in Chicago, Nov. 9, 1854, and appears in full in the Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Dec. 2, 1854. In this speech he also attacked the Republican Party, then forming, as purely sectional.

[2] *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 15, 18, 1854, etc.

[3] *La Salle Watchman*, quoted with approval by the *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 25, 1854. The *Journal* again printed this story, Oct. 11, 1854. It had great influence with the Know-Nothing and Protestant vote.

[4] *Bloomington Pantagraph*, in *ib.*, Oct. 2, 1854.

[5] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 3, 1854. The Democratic organ reprinted this statement as 'only one of the proofs of the depths of lying mendacity and reckless partisan malice which abolition-fusion-know-nothingism has reached.'

brought against Douglas all over the North. One paper printed a careful analysis of his alleged slave property, showing that, if Kansas became slave territory, he would make ten thousand dollars because of the increased price of slaves.[1] On the stump Douglas ignored this accusation; but when the same charge was made in the Senate, he made frank but scathing answer.

Indeed, it was claimed to be Douglas's intention 'to become a citizen of the South in due time,' because he owned a plantation in Mississippi.[2] If his organ, the *Illinois State Register*, would only print the number of Douglas's slaves, challenged the *Illinois Journal*, which was no less Lincoln's organ, the information would show Douglas's 'peculiar interest' in Southern institutions.[3]

Polygamy was made an issue: it was said that Douglas's principle of local popular sovereignty would permit Utah to foster that institution and, finally, to come into the Union as a polygamous State. The *Illinois Journal*[4] charged that Major Thomas L. Harris, the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Springfield district, had said that he would vote to admit Utah with polygamy, because every State and Territory must decide domestic questions for itself. Thereafter the anti-Douglas press and speakers thundered against Mormonism as an evil which the Kansas-Nebraska law protected as much as

[1] *St. Louis Intelligencer*, clipped in *Illinois Daily Journal*, Sept. 23, 1854.

On Oct. 10, 1854, the *Illinois Journal* reprinted from the *Southern Journal* a description of a barbecue for the slaves on the Douglas plantation. The same account by a guest was published in the *Washington Union*, August 19, 1853.

The barbecue, an annual celebration given by the overseer, was typical of the Southern custom — over-abundance of meats, fish newly caught in river and lake, many kinds of cake in great quantities, etc. The plantation slaves, one hundred and forty in number, ate joyously, the women 'ordering the delighted waiters with fastidious taste,' etc.

All of the slaves were 'dressed cleanly, and some of them almost elegantly.' The slave children 'crammed in the food, and more particularly the cake, in a pure repletion of animal enjoyment.' They were clad in 'white cotton shirts, the old familiar plantation dress for the children of the South — white as well as black. Here was *comfort*, *health*, and *happiness* displayed.'

This witness says that he personally saw what he narrates, and he added much comment about the treatment and condition of Douglas's slaves in contrast to the situation and experience of white laborers in the North; and 'this was not an isolated instance of the southerner's humanity to the slave — but that it was the same everywhere — over the full length and breadth of the beautiful and smiling South.'

[2] Washington Correspondence of *New York Express*, reprinted in *Illinois Journal*, June 21, 1854.

[3] *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 18, 1854. [4] Sept. 14, 1854.

the twin wickedness of slavery.[1] In vain the Democratic organ denounced the 'Utah Humbug.'[2] Polygamy continued to be a popular argument against the doctrine of Congressional non-intervention.

To these and similar charges Lincoln paid no heed. But other speakers did, and the anti-Douglas press was burdened with savage references to Douglas's advocacy of Catholicism, his ownership of slaves, his partiality to Mormonism. All these things and the other influences described went to swell the current running heavily against him and the Democratic Party. For an understanding of this and succeeding campaigns, it cannot be repeated too often that, second only to the issue of slavery extension, were the associated issues of polygamy, prohibition, Catholicism, nativism, economic depression, and the demand for river and harbor improvements.[3]

As the campaign progressed, Whig and Free-Soil newspapers grew ever more friendly to the Know-Nothings; [4] and the Whig press also rapidly advanced toward the anti-slavery position of Seward and Greeley.[5] The Democratic organ charged that the *Illinois Journal* was 'gradually throwing off all disguise of its sympathy with the faction of religious intolerance — know-nothingism.' [6]

On June 14, Fillmore, who was making the usual political tour

[1] *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 20, 23, 28, etc., 1854. The *Journal* tried to fasten on the Democratic candidate the name of 'Polygamy Harris' (Sept. 28, Oct. 30, 31, 1854), and once (Sept. 29, 1854) called him 'Polygamous Harris.'

Harris denied that he favored the admission of Utah with polygamy and said that he hated the Mormons and would crush them; but, he insisted, they had a constitutional right to govern themselves. *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 5, 1854. Harris was elected.

[2] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 5, 1854.

[3] The *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, Oct. 14, 1854, said that prohibition and know-nothingism were exceedingly influential in the campaign.

The *Aurora Guardian*, Nov. 2, 1854, said that slavery, polygamy, grog shops, and a hundred other evils of like quality, were elements of the contest.

Throughout the campaign all Chicago papers, excepting the *Times*, assailed the veto of the River and Harbor bill. For example, *Chicago Democratic Press*, clipped in *Illinois Journal*, Aug. 10, 1854.

[4] 'We know nothing of such a society.' *Illinois Daily Journal*, July 25, Sept. 6, Sept. 16, 1854. Also see *Ottawa Weekly Republican*, Oct. 7, 1854; *Joliet Signal*, Aug. 15, 1854; *Canton Weekly Register*, Nov. 9, 1854.

[5] 'They think that by combining the abolition strength with the whigs, they can triumph over the democracy.' *Illinois Daily State Register*, June 22, 1854.

[6] *Ib.*, Oct. 17, 1854.

of the country, arrived in Springfield. He was the last Whig President, and, next to Seward, the most eminent man in the party. He was already a candidate for the Whig nomination for President in 1856, and was ardently sympathetic with the Know-Nothing, or, as many insisted on calling it, the American movement. As the foremost Whig in Springfield, Lincoln introduced Fillmore to a big crowd that gathered at the station.[1]

In spite of all obstacles, however, Douglas made headway. His audiences grew in size and friendliness. Not later than September Lincoln entered the campaign.[2] He had prepared with uncommon thoroughness, even for him. He had studied the debates in Congress, and as we have seen, Douglas's speech in the Senate had been printed in pamphlet form as well as published in the newspapers. For weeks, Lincoln had spent toilsome hours in the State Library, searching trustworthy histories, analyzing the Census, mastering the facts, reviewing the literature of the subject.[3] In his office he had written fragments on government and scraps of arguments against slavery, obviously trying to clarify his reasoning.[4]

Moreover, he had written several editorials for the *Illinois Journal*. Herndon tells us that he and Lincoln often did this, and it is not hard to detect the writing of each man.[5] An editorial entitled 'NEGRO POWER'[6] is probably Lincoln's: it states in his plain and simple style the injustice of counting slaves in determining the basis of representation in Congress. Another editorial, 'THE 14TH SECTION,'[7] is undoubtedly by Lincoln. It explains the effect of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. After a succinct statement of the law, the editorial continues:

'Abraham Lincoln has a fine meadow, containing beautiful

[1] *Illinois Daily State Register*, June 15, 1854. The *Journal* barely made mention of Fillmore's visit, June 14, 1854.

[2] He spoke at Carrollton, Aug. 28, and at Jacksonville, Sept. 2. *Ib.*, Sept. 1, 6, 1854. He argued for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise and against the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law.

[3] *Ib.*, Oct. 6, 1854. [4] *Works*, II, 182–7.

[5] 'I frequently wrote the editorials in the Springfield [*Illinois*] *Journal*, the editor . . . giving to Lincoln and to me the utmost liberty in that direction. . . . Lincoln and I both kept on furnishing political matter . . . for the Springfield *Journal* until 1860. Many of the editorials that I wrote were intended directly or indirectly to promote the interest of Lincoln.' Herndon, II, 367–9.

[6] Oct. 7, 1854. [7] Sept. 11, 1854.

springs of water, and well fenced, which John Calhoun had agreed with Abraham (originally owning the land in common) should be his, and the agreement had been consummated in the most solemn manner, regarded by both as sacred. . . .

'John Calhoun then looks with a longing eye on Lincoln's meadow, and goes to it and throws down the fences, and exposes it to the ravages of his starving and famishing cattle.

'"You rascal," says Lincoln, "what have you done? what do you do this for?"

'"Oh," replies Calhoun, "everything is right. I have taken down your fence; but nothing more. It is my true intent and meaning not to drive my cattle into your meadow, nor to exclude them therefrom, but to leave them perfectly free to form their own notions of the feed, and to direct their movements in their own way."

'Now would not the man who committed this outrage be deemed both a knave and a fool — a knave in removing the restrictive fence, which he had solemnly pledged himself to sustain; and a fool in supposing that there could be one man found in the country to believe that he had not pulled down the fence for the purpose of opening the meadow for his cattle?' [1]

During the summer Chase, Giddings, Cassius M. Clay, Ichabod Codding, and a host of anti-slavery crusaders had spoken all over the State; [2] and, by the beginning of fall, large numbers of local orators were on the stump. Many anti-slavery and anti-Nebraska speakers also made appeals for the enactment of the Maine Law by the next Legislature. Prominent Democrats had declared against the Kansas-Nebraska law, and some of them,

[1] Sept. 11, 1854.

[2] *Free West*, June 29, Aug. 10, 31, *et seq.*, 1854. Also *Illinois State Register*, Aug. 27, 1854. Clay spoke in Springfield, July 10. *Illinois Journal*, July 11, 1854. Chase spoke to a small crowd in the Court House, Oct. 18. *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 19, 1854. Lincoln did not attend either of these radical meetings.

The Democratic organ hated Codding virulently: 'A fellow by the name of Codding, who has been hired by abolitionism to preach treason thro' Illinois, is on the stump: . . . This is the same hireling who attempted to raise an audience here some months ago, but failed. We learn that he has the promise of the senatorship, if fusion . . . prevails in the coming election.'

If the speckled progeny succeed, 'what a figure must Lincoln and others . . . cut, in the deference of their claims to this itinerant spouter of treason.' *Ib.*, Sept. 29, 1854.

And Giddings, 'this open mouthed abolition disunionist.' *Ib.*, Sept. 7, 1854.

notably John M. Palmer of Macoupin County, championed prohibition as well.[1]

Early in August the anti-Nebraska forces in Illinois and throughout the country were cheered and strengthened by news of the election in Iowa. That hitherto stanchly Democratic State elected a Whig Governor who had spoken in his campaign almost exclusively against the Kansas-Nebraska Act, though at the same time assailing polygamy quite as much as slavery extension. It made little difference to the Democratic opposition in other States that in Iowa, as elsewhere in the North, the other forces described in this chapter had been at work — especially the President's veto of the River and Harbor bill which prevented the removal of snags from the Mississippi and the making of much needed improvements at Dubuque. 'Iowa has condemned in thunder tones the Nebraska swindle,' said the *Illinois Journal*.[2]

Lincoln and Palmer were personal friends, and Lincoln now wrote to him a letter in which moral appeal, personal regard, and political astuteness are well-nigh perfectly blended. 'You know how anxious I am that this Nebraska measure shall be rebuked and condemned everywhere,' began Lincoln. Palmer had always been a Democrat, '*honestly*, and *sincerely;*' and Lincoln realized, he said, how 'painful' it must be to Palmer, to be required by his party to support a measure 'which in his conscience he believes to be wrong.' Won't Palmer make some speeches against it — but 'don't do it, if you think it will injure you.' Of course Palmer must vote for the Democratic candidate for Congress if he has promised to do so, but, in that case, say

[1] *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 28, 1854.

'The great *bones of contention* are the Nebraska bill and the passage of a Prohibitory Liquor Law, by our State Legislature.' *Canton Weekly Register*, Oct. 11, 1854.

[2] Aug. 16, 1854. But later the *Illinois Journal* admitted that the veto of the River and Harbor bill was one cause for the election result in Iowa. *Illinois Journal*, Aug. 19, 1854, quoting the *Burlington Telegraph;* and *ib.*, Aug. 28, 1854, quoting the *Lee County* (Ia.) *Plain Dealer*.

An editorial in the *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 4, 1854, said that 'DOWN WITH THE WEST' was a policy of the Administration. 'For some thirty years boats have been employed to remove obstructions in the Mississippi. . . . This great administration have discovered, however, that this keeping open the Mississippi is entirely unconstitutional. . . . The administration knows no west — Their sympathies are for the South. They consider it entirely constitutional to improve harbors in North Carolina.'

This editorial almost certainly was written by Lincoln.

nothing about it lest it influence others. Palmer himself would have been nominated for that place, had he remained regular; and if he had been the Democratic Congressional candidate, Lincoln would 'have made no speeches, written no letters, and you would have been elected by at least a thousand majority' — although, of course, Lincoln admitted that he himself would have voted for the Whig candidate.[1]

Palmer had become a candidate for the State Senate.[2] Lincoln fervently wished that the anti-Nebraska forces would elect a majority of that body who would also be personally attached to Lincoln himself — a natural and worthy desire of a good politician.

In all his speeches, Lincoln took pains to let the people know that he was not an Abolitionist.[3] This was in accord with the overwhelming sentiment of Central Illinois at that time. Nor does it appear that Lincoln made mention of any of the collateral issues of the campaign, such as prohibition, Know-Nothingism, polygamy, or even internal improvements. He kept to the single question of the extension of slavery. On that subject no man in Illinois or the whole country was better prepared than Lincoln.

Toward the end of September, Douglas spoke at Bloomington. Lincoln, too, was there. When Douglas closed, the crowd called for Lincoln. He refused to speak then, but at night answered Douglas before an 'immense' audience in the Court House.[4] In the condition of public feeling a circumstance at Bloomington had as much effect as did stump oratory. Lincoln called on Douglas. A decanter of 'red liquor,' a pitcher of water, and glasses, furnished by the Senator's host, stood on the sideboard, and, as the usual act of politeness of former days, Douglas invited callers to have a drink if they wished.

'Mr. Lincoln, won't you take something,' Douglas is reported to have said when Lincoln rose to go.

[1] Lincoln to Palmer, Sept. 7, 1854. *Works*, II, 187–9.

[2] Palmer was very popular personally — one of the 'most honest, talented, and reliable legislators' and could not be beaten. *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, Oct. 7, 1854.

[3] 'Mr. Lincoln, in his abolition harangues through the country, takes especial pains to disclaim the name of abolitionist.' *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 14, 1854.

[4] *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 29, 1854.

'No, I think not,' said Lincoln.

'Why! are you a member of the Temperance Society?' asked Douglas.

'No! I am not a member of any Temperance Society,' Lincoln answered, 'but I am temperate *in this*, that I don't drink anything.' [1]

Stories of this kind, showing the habits of the two men, were not without influence in their present and succeeding contests, and this fact must be borne in mind throughout this narrative.

At last Douglas reached Springfield. Much of the old enthusiasm for him had been restored and the Democratic spirit was reviving. Kraft's brass band played stirring airs when Douglas's train arrived and Hopkins artillery company, 'in full uniform,' fired salutes as the champion of popular sovereignty made his way to the hotel.[2]

On October 3, 1854, the State Fair opened. For weeks it had been advertised that Douglas would speak on that day. People poured into Springfield by the thousands.[3] Prize cattle, hogs and horses, exhibitions of corn and other farm products, displays of bread, jellies, jams and similar output of housewifely skill, specimens of improved agricultural implements, and all of the features of the annual show,[4] were forgotten for the moment in the excitement over the coming speech of the 'Little Giant.' From all over Illinois political leaders thronged to the capital.

But it rained, and Douglas spoke in the Hall of the House of Representatives instead of in the grove near the city, where seats for five thousand had been prepared. Less than half that number could be 'wedged in at one time,' and hundreds were turned away. He was 'greeted with loud cheers,' gleefully reported the Democratic organ, and made an 'unanswerable' speech. He closed with a particularly savage attack on the Know-Nothings.

[1] Statement of Jas. T. Ewing. MS. in the Jesse Fell Memorial.

[2] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 4, 1854. Douglas came on the Chicago & Alton road. The *Illinois Journal* (Oct. 3, 1854) declared that nobody was at the station to meet him.

[3] 'An unprecedented concourse of people had gathered from all parts of the State.' Herndon, II, 367.

[4] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 4, 1854, describing exhibits at the Fair.

The editor of the State Democratic organ could neither repress nor express his delight — as for a second time he editorially exclaimed! It was simply 'impossible to do justice' to Douglas's speech; everybody said that it was 'unanswerable,' and Lanphier had not realized at first how 'unanswerable' it was.[1]

Next day Lincoln answered it. As has been seen, he was fully prepared. For weeks he had been making the same speech to which we are now to listen, testing the arguments on many an audience, developing, reducing, simplifying, as is the way of seasoned campaigners.[2] Moreover his ambition was once more at white heat. He was again a candidate for the Legislature; but, if all went well at the election next month, he had resolved to try for the national Senate, an effort which his wife insisted he should make.[3] Six years later he wrote that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise had 'aroused' him; but Herndon testifies that Lincoln now saw and grasped his opportunity for political resuscitation.[4] Both assertions were accurate.

On the afternoon of October 4, 1854, the Hall of Representatives was again crowded. The audience was practically the same that had heard Douglas. In addition to the announcement made at the Douglas meeting, handbills had been scattered over Springfield and the Fair Grounds the following morning, advising everybody that Lincoln would answer Douglas at two o'clock that afternoon.[5]

It was a sultry day and the air in the Hall was heavy when, at the appointed hour, the tall, thin, awkward lawyer mounted the platform. He was in his shirt sleeves, without collar or stock, and his short, ill-fitting trousers added to the homeliness of his appearance. Lincoln had asked Douglas to be present

[1] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 4, 5, 1854.

[2] He had spoken once before in Springfield in answer to his old employer, John Calhoun; but the papers had said nothing about it. Nicolay and Hay, I, 374–5.

[3] Herndon, II, 374–5.

[4] 'Lincoln saw his opportunity and Douglas' downfall.' Herndon to Weik, Oct. 28, 1885. Weik MSS.

'The repeal of the Missouri Compromise acts roused Lincoln — waked him up to his new opportunities and he seized them.' Same to same, Feb. 11, 1887. Weik MSS.

'This repeal was his opportunity and he seized it and rode to glory on the popular wave.' *Ib.*

[5] *Illinois Journal*, Oct. 5, 1854.

and make reply if he wished to do so, and the well-clad, well-groomed Senator was there.

Lincoln had written his speech carefully, and next day the *Illinois Journal* published a long abstract of it, undoubtedly prepared by the speaker.[1] But he did not have his entire manuscript published until after he had delivered his speech at Peoria, twelve days later, when for the third time he answered Douglas. So this speech of Lincoln's appears in his *Works* as the 'Peoria Speech,' and is so known.

He first cracked some jokes 'the character of which will be understood by all who know him, by simply saying they were *Lincolnisms*,' reported the hostile *State Register*.[2] Then he made his prepared speech. He began haltingly, in his thin, rasping voice, and Kentucky accent. But soon his hesitation disappeared, he became earnest, at times passionate. His hair was disordered, and as he proceeded, sweat poured down his face. Time and again the crowd burst into applause and when he closed the Hall rang with cheers.[3]

Lincoln was now in his forty-sixth year and this speech was wholly unlike any before made by him. Indeed, if it and his public utterances thereafter were placed side by side with his previous speeches, and the authorship of them all were unknown, it would appear impossible that they had been written by the same man. Because of this and because the Springfield address contained all the ideas, or the germs of them, that Lincoln expressed thereafter and up to the time he wrote the Emancipation Proclamation, a comprehensive resumé of what he said must now be given.

[1] *Illinois Journal*, Oct. 5, 1854. This synopsis is not only in Lincoln's unmistakable style, but it is so closely knit, logical, consecutive, and accurate, that even the most expert press reporter in Springfield could not possibly have written it at the meeting or afterwards.

[2] Oct. 6, 1854. Italics *Register's*.

[3] *Abraham Lincoln in 1854:* an Address by Horace White before Illinois State Historical Society, Jan. 30, 1908, 10.

Horace White, then twenty years of age, was present at the Springfield meeting and later at Peoria, as a reporter for the *Chicago Journal*. From this time forward he had close relations with Lincoln, whom he found to be 'an exceedingly shrewd politician.' We owe to White much trustworthy information about Lincoln in politics during the period under review. White became Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee in 1856. He later was the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*. *Ib.*, 19.

While practically all facts and arguments adduced in this speech had been used many times by others and had often appeared in the anti-Nebraska press, Lincoln's method of statement was new and distinctive. Moreover, there is a breadth, sympathy, and tolerance in Lincoln's speech not to be found in any other pronouncement of the times. His fairness and honesty are well-nigh startling, considering the deep feeling then existing, and considering, too, that he was making a campaign stump speech.

In the main Lincoln followed the Appeal, as did all other opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act; but he rejected the theory that it was the result of a plot of the Slave Power. Also his speech is clear of vituperation, unstained by abuse — a fact in striking contrast to most other political utterances of the day. Then, too, Lincoln expressed the moral phase of the subject in plainer if more moderate terms than any one else had done. Finally, we have in this speech passages of that exalted yet restrained eloquence which establishes Lincoln's fame as an orator of the first rank. We find in it, also, promise of that breadth of mind and generosity of spirit which is to be fully realized in the Second Inaugural.

He would speak on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise he began, and 'the propriety of its restoration.' In doing so he would not question the patriotism or motives of 'any man or class of men,' but confine himself to the 'naked merits of the question.' Since the subject was 'part and parcel' of the slavery question, Lincoln wished to make clear and broad 'the distinction between the existing institution and the extension of it.'

The policy of prohibiting slavery in new territory originated with Jefferson, 'who was, is, and perhaps will continue to be, the most distinguished politician of our history,' Lincoln declared. That policy was embodied in the Ordinance of 1787, adopted before the Government under the Constitution was established. Thus the mighty Northwest Territory[1] was 'now what Jefferson foresaw and intended — the happy home of teeming millions of free, white, prosperous people, and no slave among them.'

[1] The States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

For more than sixty years Jefferson's policy had worked well, averred Lincoln: 'But now new light breaks upon us.' Congress says that that policy violated 'the sacred right of self-government.' Men who have been born and have always lived under Jefferson's restriction against slavery, now fear 'absolute suffocation if they are restricted in the "sacred right" of taking slaves to Nebraska.' Such men never before thought of 'that perfect liberty they sigh for — the liberty of making slaves of other people.'

The first slavery agitation in our history was caused by the attempt to admit Missouri as a slave State and the resistance by the North, Lincoln narrated. The Union was in peril and 'the ablest public men of the day' arranged a Compromise. Under it Missouri came in as a slave State, but slavery was excluded forever in all other territory acquired from France north of 36° 30′. Then when Texas was annexed that line was extended westward across her territory.[1]

Only five years ago, in 1849, Douglas had said that all men and parties approved the Missouri Compromise; and that 'all the evidences of public opinion at that day seemed to indicate that this Compromise had been canonized in the hearts of the American people, as a sacred thing which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb.' [2]

While I was in the House, said Lincoln, 'the Wilmot proviso, or the principle of it, was constantly coming up in some shape or other, and I think I may venture to say I voted for it at least forty times during the short time I was there.' [3]

When Douglas introduced a bill to extend the Missouri Compromise line across that domain to the Pacific, 'the proviso men

[1] This was one of the only two errors of fact made by Lincoln in a three-hour speech containing a multitude of historical statements.

[2] Quoted by Lincoln, *Works*, II, 199.

From the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the *Illinois Journal* had often printed this extract from Douglas's speech in 1849 and had attacked him in severe editorials for his 'change' of position. For example, see *Illinois Journal*, May 23, 29, Sept. 2, Aug. 7, 1854. One or two of these editorials were, probably, written by Lincoln.

[3] The Wilmot proviso came to a vote twice, and 'in principle' three times during Lincoln's term in the House. Lincoln's assertion was not a misstatement or intentional inaccuracy, but merely a manner of speech. The expression 'forty times' was a familiar phrase, equivalent to the word 'many' — 'I did, said, voted, etc., forty times' was a common method of stating frequency.

in the House, including myself, voted it down, because, by implication, it gave up the southern part to slavery, while we were bent on having it all free.'

California had been kept out of the Union in 1849 because of her anti-slavery constitution. But, Lincoln added with amazing fairness, 'under all the circumstances, perhaps, this was not wrong,' since many other things then required adjustment — a new Fugitive Slave Law for which the South 'clamored,' abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia for which the North 'clamored,' slavery in Utah and New Mexico, the Texan boundary which was also a slavery question.

'These points . . . were held up, perhaps wisely, to make them help adjust one another. The Union . . . was thought to be in danger, and devotion to the Union rightfully inclined men to yield somewhat in points, where nothing else could have so inclined them.' In this wise came the Compromise of 1850, continued Lincoln. Two years later, 'each of the great political parties' declared it to be a 'finality,' as the Legislature of Illinois had already done.

So stood matters when migration to Nebraska began, Lincoln related. The Missouri Compromise, first made for the restriction of slavery, has since been maintained, expressly for Nebraska. A year ago [1853] a Nebraska bill had passed the House and failed in the Senate 'only for want of time. This bill contained no repeal of the Missouri Compromise,' and, when assailed because it did not, 'Judge Douglas defended it in its existing form.' Then on January 4, 1854, he 'introduces a new bill . . . with a report, in which last he expressly recommends that the Missouri Compromise shall neither be affirmed nor repealed.' Next, the territory is divided into two parts and, finally, Douglas amends the bill so 'as to declare the Missouri Compromise inoperative and void; and, substantially, that the people who go and settle there may establish slavery, or exclude it, as they may see fit.' Thus it becomes a law.[1]

Such, Lincoln said, was the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and it was 'wrong — wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and wrong in its prospective

[1] *Works*, II, 204.

principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where men can be found inclined to take it.' [1]

'This declared indifference, but, as I must think, covert real

[1] This statement, which Lincoln repeated twice in his long speech, was directed to frequent editorials and articles in the Democratic press, that Cuba, Porto Rico, Northern Mexico, and the Sandwich Islands, must be annexed or acquired in some way short of conquest.

The Abolition and Free-Soil press insisted, and two or three radical pro-slavery Southern journals admitted, that all this territory would be made slave States. It was charged that, after making this accession of territory adapted to slavery, the South planned to withdraw from the Union.

Immediately after the Kansas-Nebraska Act became a law, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Express* sent his paper a long story to this effect, which the *Illinois Journal*, June 21, 1854, printed conspicuously under the caption 'A SCHEME TO DISSOLVE THE UNION.'

An unnamed Senator was reported to have told the correspondent that 'the ultra-Southern party is determined to obtain possession of Cuba, and, after that, to separate from the Northern States. . . . Their plan is to seize upon Cuba, and enough of Mexico to connect California by the Southern route with their new Republic. . . . The Secessionists are not without hope that the Southern sections of Illinois and Indiana may prove friendly to their scheme. . . . Even moderate, calm, and intelligent Southern men arouse themselves in favor of separation. . . . They say they are tired of these eternal bickerings and quarrels, and wish to live hereafter in peace and quiet. . . . They have come to the conclusion that there is a natural antagonism between the North and South, and that they at least would be better off if released from the Union.'

Two days later, June 12, 1854, Lincoln's organ declared that Douglas had said in a recent speech in New York, that the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Act must be applied '*in all times to come . . . whether it be Nebraska, Kansas, Oregon, Mexico, Cuba, or the Sandwich Islands.*' Italics the *Journal's*.

On this speech of Douglas, the *Illinois Journal* based a strong editorial: 'The slave power have now the control of this government. They are seeking to obtain Cuba for the purpose of extending slave power. . . . They have now already received information that their project of purchasing more territory from Mexico to enlarge slave area, is likely to be successful;' yet the purchase money 'belongs to the free north as well as to the slave propagandists south,' etc. *Illinois Journal*, June 12, 1854.

Soon another editorial, 'WHAT IS TO BE DONE,' appeared: 'This Nebraska question connects with other questions. We cannot trust tomorrow, the traitors of today. We have Nebraska in 1854 — we may have Cuba, or Chihuahua in '56. . . . Every office that is connected with the great council of the nation must be filled by men who are primarily *right*, on the NEBRASKA QUESTION.' *Illinois Journal*, June 17, 1854.

Similar editorials and articles were published by the anti-slavery press all over the country; and every paper, regardless of political affiliation, had pieces on Cuba, Mexico, the Sandwich Islands, etc. Except for the slavery question, it would appear that the country generally, at this period of expansion, was favorable to getting as much new territory as it could.

Sumner thought that the Administration intended to seize Cuba while France and England were at war with Russia — the Crimean War. Sumner to Earl of Carlisle, Oct. 26, 1854. Pierce, III, 407.

The *Illinois Journal*, Nov. 9, 1854, printed an editorial, quoting the *Charleston Mercury* as saying that 'slavery must spread in area and power. . . . If the north colonizes for abolition, the south must colonize for slavery,' etc.

'Cuba is bound to belong to the United States,' not through war or filibuster, but by purchase. *Washington Sentinel*, June 27, 1854; *Cairo City* (Ill.) *Times*, Sept. 27, 1854.

zeal, for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate,' exclaimed Lincoln. 'I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces so many good men among ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.' [1]

Thus, on October 4, 1854, did Lincoln, for the first time in his life, publicly and in forthright words denounce slavery,[2] and assert that it was incompatible with American institutions. Yet he did not propose to abolish it out of hand, but only to restrict it. Indeed, Horace White says that Lincoln never was considered an anti-slavery man before the Emancipation Proclamation; [3] and presently we shall see him leave Springfield to avoid attending a meeting of 'the friends of freedom.'

Slave-holders were not to be blamed, said Lincoln. 'I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation.' They would not introduce slavery if it did not already exist; and if we had it, 'we should not instantly give it up.' Perhaps there were individual exceptions on both sides — every one knew that some Southern men freed their slaves, 'go North and become tip-top Abolitionists, while some Northern ones go South and become most cruel slave masters.' [4] Lincoln could 'understand and appreciate' what the Southern people said about the difficulty of getting rid of slavery.

'I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land.' [5]

[1] *Works*, II, 205. [2] *Address:* White, 31–2. [3] *Ib.*, 44. [4] *Works*, II, 205–6.

[5] It must be kept in mind that Lincoln was an ardent supporter of the Colonization Society. As late as 1854, he and Browning were advertised to speak in Springfield on colonization. *Illinois Journal*, Jan. 12, 1854. Sickness in his family kept Lincoln at home and Browning spoke alone. *Ib.*, Jan. 14, 1854.

Lincoln thought that there was 'high hope' that this might be done 'in the long run,' but not suddenly. 'If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days.'

What, then, was to be done with the slaves? asked Lincoln. Would it better their condition to free them and 'keep them among us as underlings?' He thought that he would not 'hold one in slavery at any rate, yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon.'

So 'what next?' Lincoln inquired; and in answer to his own question, he gave an accurate statement of general sentiment in the North, as well as his own at that time.[1] 'What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this, and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded cannot be safely disregarded.'

He favored 'gradual emancipation,' he said, yet not so urgently that he would 'undertake to judge our brethren of the South' for their tardiness in adopting it.[2] Thus Lincoln anticipated the lofty tolerance of the Second Inaugural.

He acknowledged the constitutional right of the South, 'not grudgingly, but fully and fairly,' he avowed; and, he continued, 'I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one'[3] — in short the most effective Fugitive Slave Law that was practicable.

'But all this . . . furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory than it would for reviving the African slave-trade by law.' The repeal of the law excluding slavery from Nebraska was no better than would be the repeal of 'the law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa.'

[1] *Works*, II, 206–7. [2] *Ib.*, II, 207. [3] *Ib.*, 207–8.

Lincoln insisted that the organization of the Nebraska country did not require the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Iowa and Minnesota had been given Territorial Governments without that repeal, although the Missouri restriction applied to them as much as to Kansas and Nebraska. Again he cited the Nebraska bill of 1853 — 'why no necessity then for repeal?' he asked.

If those who arranged the Missouri Compromise intended that it should be applied to other territory than the French acquisition, 'why did they not say so?' They easily could have done it, but they did not, he said. 'Both the law itself, and the history of the times, are a blank as to any principle of extension; and by neither the known rules of construing statutes and contracts, nor by common sense, can such principle be inferred.' [1]

Missouri came in with slavery, although north of the Compromise line; therefore if any principle of extension was involved, the South had 'the right to have another [slave state] given them north of it occasionally, now and then, in the indefinite westward extension of the line.' How absurd!

When voting to exclude slavery from the whole Mexican acquisition, 'little did we think we were thereby voting to let it into Nebraska . . . little did we think we were voting to destroy the old line, then of near thirty years' standing.'

To say so was as foolish as to contend that 'because we have so far forborne to acquire Cuba, we have thereby, in principle, repudiated our former acquisitions and determined to throw them out of the Union. No less absurd than it would be to say that because I may have refused to build an addition to my house, I thereby have decided to destroy the existing house! And if I catch you setting fire to my house, you will turn upon me and say I instructed you to do it!'

The Utah and New Mexico Acts applied to those territories exclusively, and to 'no other place whatever,' insisted Lincoln. 'It had no more direct reference to Nebraska than it had to the territories of the moon.' Moreover the Utah-New Mexico provision was part of a bargain — 'if you wish the thing again, pay

[1] *Works*, II, 209–10.

again.' The Compromise of 1850 was a 'system of equivalents; . . . ask us not to repeat, for nothing,' what was paid for in the first instance.

If Congress meant to establish the principle of popular sovereignty, why did they not apply it to the District of Columbia? He personally knew, testified Lincoln, that that very thing was talked of often by members of Congress and by citizens of Washington, while he was in the House; 'and I heard no one express a doubt that a system of gradual emancipation, with compensation to owners, would meet the approbation of a large majority of the white people of the District. But without the action of Congress they could say nothing; and Congress said "No."' [1]

Douglas had belabored those who endorsed the Compromise of 1850 and yet opposed now the Kansas-Nebraska Act which, according to Douglas, merely carried out the 'principle' of that historic adjustment. So Lincoln carefully explained what he meant, or rather what he did not mean by his sanction in 1852, of the Great Compromise.

'I meant not to ask a repeal or modification of the fugitive-slave law.

'I meant not to ask for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

'I meant not to resist the admission of Utah and New Mexico, even should they ask to come in as slave States.

'I meant nothing about additional Territories, because . . . we then had no Territory whose character as to slavery was not already settled.

'As to Nebraska, I regarded its character . . . as unalterably fixed as that of my own home in Illinois.

'As to new acquisitions, I said, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." When we make new acquisitions, we will, as heretofore, try to manage them somehow.'

To say that the changes in the Kansas-Nebraska bill did not alter it substantially was like saying that there was no difference between white and black. Douglas 'admits' that he changed the bill to get the support of other Senators; that

[1] *Works*, II, 215.

proved, argued Lincoln, that those Senators 'thought the change a substantial one,' and everybody believed that on that change 'this whole agitation has arisen.'

Was that repeal right in itself? No! answered Lincoln. He restated the terms of the Missouri Compromise, and said that, heretofore, slave and free states had come in under that arrangement; but that now, the South having used her part of the territory below the Missouri line, wanted to destroy that boundary. How 'manifestly unjust! . . . It is as if two starving men had divided their only loaf; the one had hastily swallowed his half, and then grabbed the other's half just as he was putting it to his mouth.'

With astounding candor, Lincoln declared that it was not important whether or not slavery would go into Kansas — indeed, he considered it 'rather an inferior matter.' But Douglas's argument that slavery could not exist in those Territories, was 'a palliation, a lullaby.' [1] Lincoln had some hope that it would not; 'but let us not be too confident,' he warned his hearers.[2]

Look at Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri! — all slave States and 'all north of the Missouri Compromise line.' The Census of 1850 showed that 'more than one fourth of all the slaves in the nation' were in those States. That proved that climate would not keep slavery out of Kansas and Nebraska. Neither would the soil of those Territories, for it was the same as that of western Missouri, and there were more slaves there than in any other part of that State. When 'rather recently,' said Lincoln, the Northwestern boundary of Missouri was extended, 'slavery followed on quite up to the new line.' Would it not go into Kansas and Nebraska 'when the restriction is removed?'

Since neither soil nor climate would prevent it, would 'the

[1] *Works*, II, 219.

[2] During the campaign, the Democratic press and speakers insisted, as they had done since before the Nebraska bill was introduced in January, 1854, that slavery could not exist in that country. The Weekly *National Intelligencer*, with which Lincoln usually agreed, took the same position, and printed many editorials and articles to that effect from other papers. See, for instance, the issue of Nov. 4, 1854, containing a typical editorial from the *Detroit Free Press*. And see *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 21, 1854; *Indiana State Sentinel*, Aug. 9, 1854, etc.

disposition of the people prevent it? Those nearest the scene are all in favor of the extension,' while 'the Yankees who are opposed to it' are too far away. Theoretically, slaves would be free when taken to the Territories, because there was no law there on the subject; but practically, the negroes would be still kept in slavery because nobody would tell them of their rights. Thus when the time came to vote on the question, slavery would already be established, and the majority would favor the institution because it was there and hard to get rid of.

But, argued Lincoln, keep slavery out 'until a vote is taken' by a free population and slavery would be rejected. 'To get slaves into the Territory simultaneously with the whites in the incipient stages of settlement is the precise stake played for and won in this Nebraska measure.' [1]

To say that the number of slaves was not increased by taking them into the Territories, was 'another lullaby argument.' [2] The increase of slave population was 'unaccountable, except by supposing that some of them, too, have been coming from Africa,' and 'the African slave-trade is not yet effectually suppressed.' Extension of slave territory created a demand for slaves and tended 'to the perpetuation of the institution.' [3]

To say that 'equal justice to the South' required the extension of slavery to the new Territories, was to say that 'inasmuch as you do not object to my taking my hog to Nebraska, therefore I must not object to your taking your slave.' That argument was 'perfectly logical, if there is no difference between hogs and negroes.' But did the Southern people, themselves, think that — or act it? Most of them did not. 'The great majority, South as well as North, have human sympathies, of which they can no more divest themselves than they can of their sensibility to physical pain.' So the Southern people acknowledged that 'there is humanity in the negro.' See how slave-holders treat the slave-dealer. They avoid him — 'in-

[1] *Works*, II, 221–2.

[2] Lincoln himself had made this very point ten years earlier. See Chap. II, Vol. II, of this Work.

[3] *Works*, II, 222–3.

stinctively shrinking from the snaky contact.' They do not so treat the dealer in corn, cotton, or tobacco. Why?

There were 433,643 'free blacks' in the country worth, at five hundred dollars a head, over two hundred millions of dollars. 'How comes this vast amount of property to be running about without owners,' whimsically inquired Lincoln? 'We do not see free horses or free cattle running at large. How is this?' [1]

What of the 'great argument' in support of the Kansas-Nebraska bill — 'the sacred right of self-government?' Even Senators had not met Douglas 'fairly on that argument.' So, exclaimed Lincoln, since

> '"Fools rush in where angels fear to tread"

. . . I rush in — I take that bull by the horns.' He was for local self-government, he said; that doctrine 'is right — absolutely and eternally right' — right as to individuals, right as to communities. 'Here, or at Washington, I would not trouble myself with the oyster laws of Virginia, or the cranberry laws of Indiana.'

But that principle had no just application 'as here attempted,' unless a negro is not a man. If he is a man, ought he not to govern himself? 'My ancient faith teaches me that "all men are created equal,"' and that slavery is against moral right.

In answer to Douglas's 'bitter irony and sarcasm,' that his opponents conceded that white people in the Territories were 'good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable negroes!' Lincoln said that those white people were as good, perhaps, as the average of people elsewhere. But that was not the point.

'What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet-anchor of American republicanism. . . . Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government, and that, and that only, is self-government.' This was, perhaps, the first thoroughly radical statement Lincoln ever made. Yet

[1] *Works*, II, 223–5.

he instantly qualified it. He was not for 'political and social equality between the whites and blacks.' He was only 'combating what is set up as moral argument . . . for the extension of a bad thing.' Where slavery already existed, 'we must of necessity manage as best we can.'

Do we not own the Nebraska country? 'If we surrender the control of it, do we not surrender the right of self-government? It is part of ourselves. If you say we shall not control it, because it is only part, the same is true of every other part; and when all the parts are gone, what has become of the whole? What is then left of us? What use for the General Government, when there is nothing left for it to govern?'

No consolidationist had said anything more extreme for centralized power.

To say that the people of the Territories should settle the slavery question for themselves 'because they are more particularly interested' in it, was to say that each individual should decide for himself 'whether he will have slaves. What better moral right have thirty-one citizens of Nebraska to say that the thirty-second shall not hold slaves than the people of the thirty-one States have to say that slavery shall not go into the thirty-second State at all?

'If it is a sacred right for the people of Nebraska to take and hold slaves there, it is equally their sacred right to buy them where they can buy them cheapest; and that, undoubtedly, will be on the coast of Africa, provided you will consent not to hang them for going there to buy them.'

The argument that 'taking slaves from the States to Nebraska does not make slaves of freemen,' meant nothing, Lincoln said; 'the African slave-trader can say just as much. He does not catch free negroes and bring them here. He finds them already slaves in the hands of their black captors, and he honestly buys them at the rate of a red cotton handkerchief a head. This is very cheap, and it is a great abridgment of the sacred right of self-government to hang men for engaging in this profitable trade,' Lincoln sarcastically observed.

By Douglas's doctrine of self-government 'the first few may get slavery in, and the subsequent many cannot easily get it

out.' The people of the slave States could not now get rid of the institution because of 'the action of a very few in the beginning.' Was that self-government? [1]

Whether slavery should go to the Territories was not the 'exclusive concern' of those who lived there — 'the whole nation was interested' in the Territories; 'we want them for homes of free white people.' That could not be where slavery was. Look at the South! it was a region for 'poor white people to remove from, not to remove to. New free States are the places for poor people to go to, and better their condition. For this use the nation needs these Territories.'

Slave States were bad for the remainder of the country, for 'we are under legal obligations to catch and return their runaway slaves to them: a sort of dirty, disagreeable job, which . . . the slave-holders will not perform for one another.'

And consider the advantage of the slave States over the free States in representation; 'five slaves are counted as being equal to three whites.' Was that fair? Like all anti-slavery politicians, Lincoln dwelt at length and with emphasis upon the injustice to the North of slave enumeration. 'The South Carolinian . . . is more than the double of any one of us in this crowd.' In varying degrees this inequality was true of all free and slave States. Still, 'manifestly unfair' as this inequality was, 'it is in the Constitution, and I do not for that cause, or any other cause, propose to destroy, or alter, or disregard the Constitution. I stand to it, fairly, fully, and firmly.'

But, Lincoln did object to leaving to other people to decide 'whether new partners are to be bred up and brought into the firm, on the same degrading terms against me.' No other man had 'a sacred right' to decide for him whether he was to be 'a whole man, or only the half of one, in comparison with others.' If anybody had such a right, what became of the 'sacred right' of the man who was thus reduced to the fraction of a man?

The extension of slavery endangers American liberty and institutions more than all other causes: how recreant to themselves if the people submit 'the fate of their country, to a mere handful of men bent only on self-interest. . . . Shall the strong

[1] *Works*, II, 232.

grip of the nation be loosened upon him [the great Behemoth of danger], to intrust him to the hands of such feeble keepers?

'I have done with this mighty argument of self-government. Go, sacred thing! Go in peace.'

The Kansas-Nebraska was not a 'Union-saving measure,' as Douglas insisted. If it were, Lincoln declared he would support it. 'Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any great evil to avoid a greater one.'

Douglas must have known that his bill would be 'looked upon as a measure for the extension of slavery, aggravated by a gross breach of faith.' It was bound to create agitation; for, said Lincoln, 'slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature — opposition to it in his love of justice. These principles are at eternal antagonism, and when brought into collision . . . shocks and throes and convulsions must ceaselessly follow.'

Repeal everything else — the Declaration of Independence itself and 'all past history' — and still human nature remained. That could not be repealed, and it cried out that slavery was wrong.[1]

For several weeks the *Illinois Journal* and other anti-slavery papers had been publishing belligerent resolutions adopted by meetings in western Missouri, denouncing the efforts of Emigrant Aid Societies to people Kansas with Abolitionists and asserting that Missouri slave-holders would support by force their brethren in the new Territory.[2] To this beginning of that conflict in Kansas, which we are soon to behold, Lincoln thus made reference:

[1] *Works*, II, 237–8.

[2] 'Apprehensive of interference with our private and domestic concerns [slavery] by certain organized bands who are to be precipitated upon us, we notify all such, that our purpose is firm, to enjoy all our rights, and to meet with the last argument all who shall in any way infringe upon them.' From resolutions adopted at Westport, Mo. *Illinois Journal*, June 20, 1854.

'This association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas Territory, hold itself in readiness to go there, to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigration Aid Societies.' From resolutions adopted at Weston, Mo., 'near the border of Kansas,' Aug. 20, 1854. *Ib.*, Sept. 15, 1854.

At first, such gestures were meant to scare away any settlers sent to Kansas by the Emigrant Aid Societies. *Worcester* (Mass.) *Spy*, clipped in *Indiana State Sentinel*, Aug. 7, 1854. But see *New York Herald* in *ib.*, June 21, 1854.

'Kansas is swarming with emigrants, not as predicted, with slaveholders, carrying

'Some Yankees in the East are sending emigrants to Nebraska to exclude slavery from it;' and expect to vote 'some way or other. But the Missourians are awake, too. They are within a stone's-throw of the contested ground,' and talk not of voting but of violence. 'They resolve that slavery already exists in the Territory: that more shall go there; that they, remaining in Missouri, will protect it, and that Abolitionists shall be hung or driven away. Through all this bowie-knives and six-shooters are seen plainly enough, but never a glimpse of the ballot-box.' [1]

So 'each party within having numerous and determined backers without,' the probable result would be 'blows and bloodshed.' That was the natural outcome of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. If Congress had deliberately arranged for it, 'the fight could be no more likely to come off than it is.' And where would it end? 'Will not the first drop of blood so shed be the real knell of the Union?' [2]

Restore the Missouri Compromise, pleaded Lincoln. If that were not done, the spirit of adjustment would be 'discarded' even if slavery should be excluded from the Territories. 'The spirit of mutual concession — . . . which first gave us the Constitution, and which has thrice saved the Union — we shall have strangled and cast from us forever.'

The result would be mutual hatred and defiance between North and South, he prophesied. Already 'a few' in the North defy the Constitution, resist the Fugitive Slave Law, and even menace slavery where it exists; and 'a few in the South claim the constitutional right to take and to hold slaves in the free States — demand the revival of the slave-trade,' and the extradition of fugitive slaves. 'As yet they are but few on either side,' but the destruction of 'the spirit of all compromise' might 'embolden and embitter each of these, and fatally increase the number of both.' With touching eloquence Lincoln implored the South to join the North in this fraternal policy: 'It would be on their part a great act — great in its spirit, and great in its effect.'

their "property" from a profitable to an unprofitable market, but of good stout laboring white men, with gun and axe in hand, their wives and children and their implements of industry, to lay the foundations for a flourishing free State.' *Ib.*, Aug. 11, 1854.

[1] *Works*, II, 239. [2] *Ib.*, 240.

It would be no sacrifice for the South; 'they only surrender to us what they gave us for a consideration long, long ago; *what they have not now asked for, struggled or cared for; what has been thrust upon them, not less to their astonishment than to ours.*' [1]

This vital assertion was in direct contradiction of the charge made by the anti-slavery press and anti-slavery speakers, that the South had planned and procured the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. From the historical point of view, this statement of Lincoln's is, perhaps, the most important in his great speech.

What the authors of the Kansas-Nebraska Act really wanted, insisted Lincoln, was the establishment of 'a principle for future use' — 'with them, Nebraska alone is a small matter.' What was that 'future use' to which that principle was to be applied? It was 'the planting of slavery wherever in the wide world local and unorganized opposition cannot prevent it,' [2] and Lincoln again made reference to the project of acquiring Cuba, Mexico, and other territory.

It was 'silly,' he said, to hesitate to oppose the Kansas-Nebraska Act, as many Whigs were doing, 'lest they be thrown in company with the Abolitionists. . . .

'Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong.

'Stand with the Abolitionist in restoring the Missouri Compromise, and stand against him when he attempts to repeal the fugitive slave law.

'In the latter case you stand with the Southern disunionist. What of that? you are still right.

'In both cases you are right. In both cases you oppose the dangerous extremes. In both you stand on middle ground, and hold the ship level and steady.[3]

'In both you are national, and nothing less than national. This is the good old Whig ground. To desert such ground be-

[1] Italics author's. As late as July 10, 1854, the *Illinois Journal* said: 'We see that there are evidences in the south of dissatisfaction with the repeal of the Missouri compromise. They see no good to result from it.'

The Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 4, 1854, quoted the *Flag of the Union*, published at Jackson, Miss., as violently attacking the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

[2] *Works*, II, 242.

[3] This is one of the few instances where, in his later speeches, Lincoln conspicuously mixed his metaphors.

cause of any company, is to be less than a Whig — less than a man — less than an American.' [1]

The Kansas-Nebraska Act was based on the assumption 'that there can be moral right in the enslaving of one man by another.' To accept that principle was 'a dangerous dalliance for a free people — a sad evidence that, feeling prosperity, we forget right; that liberty, as a principle, we have ceased to revere.'

Lincoln told how slavery came to be recognized in the Constitution. 'Thus the thing is hid away in the Constitution, just as an afflicted man hides away a wen or cancer which he dares not cut out at once, lest he bleed to death, — with the promise, nevertheless, that the cutting may begin at a certain time.' [2] Slavery was now 'transformed into a "sacred right." . . . Steadily as man's march to the grave, we have been giving up the old for the new faith.[3] . . . These principles cannot stand together. They are as opposite as God and Mammon; and whoever holds to the one must despise the other.' Even a Senator of the United States had called the Declaration of Independence 'a self-evident lie.' What would 'Marion's men, Southerners though they were,' have done to such a man? The captors of André would have hanged him sooner than the British spy was hanged. The very doorkeeper of Independence Hall 'would have throttled the man and thrust him into the street. . . .

'The spirit of seventy-six and the spirit of Nebraska are utter antagonisms; and the former is being rapidly displaced by the latter.'

Thus Lincoln rose to a climax of pure and noble eloquence. 'Is there no danger to liberty itself in discarding the earliest practice and first precept of our ancient faith? In our greedy chase to make profit of the negro, let us beware lest we "cancel and tear in pieces" even the white man's charter of freedom.

'Our republican robe is soiled and trailed in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white in the spirit, if not the blood, of the Revolution. Let us turn slavery from its claims of "moral right" back . . . to the position our fathers gave it, and there let it rest in peace. Let us readopt the

[1] *Works*, II, 243. [2] *Ib.*, 244–5. [3] *Ib.*, 246.

Declaration of Independence, and with it the practices and policy which harmonize with it.

'Let North and South — let all Americans — let all lovers of liberty everywhere join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it as to make and to keep it forever worthy of the saving. We shall have so saved it that the succeeding millions of free, happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generations.' [1]

When Lincoln closed — and indeed often during the delivery of his speech, Herndon testifies — 'loud and continuous huzzas' rose from the enthusiastic audience, and 'women waved their white handkerchiefs.' The junior partner did not think the praise of Lincoln's speech in the *Journal* next day [2] was warm enough; so Herndon took the editorial pen in his own hand, and produced 'with youthful enthusiasm,' a laudation of Lincoln's speech which has gone into history.

It was 'the profoundest' of Lincoln's 'whole life. . . . His feelings . . . came near stifling utterance. He quivered with emotion. The whole house was as still as death,' except when it approved the 'glorious triumph of truth by loud and continued huzzas. . . . The Nebraska bill was shivered, like a tree . . . by the hot bolts of truth. . . . He took the heart captive and broke like a sun over the understanding.' The friends of Douglas felt that he was 'crushed' by Lincoln's argument and logic.[3]

For a man thus 'crushed,' Douglas displayed surprising vitality; for he instantly took the platform and spoke for an hour and a half in reply. The brief report of his speech given in the Democratic organ [4] is so partisan and ecstatic, that we are left to Lincoln's answer at Peoria twelve days later for a summary of what Douglas said:

The Kansas-Nebraska Act would not extend slavery and was

[1] *Works*, II, 248. [2] Oct. 5, 1854.

[3] Herndon, II, 367–9. 'The editorial . . . was my own.' Herndon's statement.

Yet Lincoln's wonderful speech attracted little attention in other papers, even in Illinois. In telling of the Springfield debate during 'Fair Week' the *Alton Weekly Courier*, Oct. 12, 1854, merely makes mention that Lincoln was one of the speakers along with Breese, Trumbull, and Douglas.

[4] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 6, 1854.

not designed to extend it; Congressional intervention never had prevented slavery anywhere, whereas local self-government had done so in every free State; that principle began when man was given the choice between good and evil and held responsible for the exercise of that choice; suppression of the African slave trade was provided for in the Constitution which, however, did not exclude slavery from the Territories; as to representation, negroes were fully enumerated in the free States, but only partially in the slave States; the measures of the Great Compromise had no dependence upon one another; the Utah and New Mexico laws authorized slavery before as well as after Statehood, if the people wanted it; the act of 1853 for the organization of Washington Territory, in effect, repealed the Ordinance of 1787; the American Government had been made by white people for white people and not for negroes.[1]

The Democratic editor was even more jubilant over Douglas's rejoinder than Herndon was over Lincoln's reply: 'Mr. Lincoln had been selected as the Goliah of the anti-Nebraska black republican fusionists,' said the *State Register*. But Douglas demolished him; 'the thunders of the applauding multitude shook the state house from turret top to foundation stone,' and the people kept on cheering as they left the hall.[2]

Herndon again wrote an editorial on Douglas's close: his eloquence was 'false and brusque. He is haughty and imperative. . . . a very tyrant. . . . Douglas, it must be confessed, has power. . . . He is the grand master of human passion and rules the crowd with an iron rule. . . . He is the greatest demagogue in America. The fate of Satan is the fate of Douglas. . . . He now stands a scorched monument of disgrace . . . because of his treason to liberty.'

At the close of this memorable meeting Herndon became the busiest man in town. He was Mayor of Springfield, having been elected by a majority of more than two to one in a contest where the only issue was that of the best man for the office. The reason

[1] *Works*, II, 249–62.

[2] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 6, 1854. The correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican* reported that Douglas 'flayed his opponent alive' and that 'the cheers could not be repressed. . . . I state this as a mere witness, having no feeling in the matter; but simply giving my observations.' Clipped in *Washington Sentinel*, Oct. 19, 1854.

for his activity was the holding of a Republican State Convention that night and the political danger which that gathering held for Lincoln.

Fusion of elements opposed to the ruling party had begun and was going on rapidly all over the North. On July 6, 1854, an immense concourse had gathered in an oak grove at Jackson, Michigan, in response to a call signed by ten thousand citizens of that State, and this historic assemblage had adopted a platform and nominated candidates of a new political organization called the Republican Party.

The same coalition under the same name had also formed at various places in New England, Wisconsin, and Ohio, and the merger of various groups into one body, styled the Republican Party, had already become a movement.[1] For many weeks Whig conventions, 'people's' conventions, and 'Fusion' conventions, in various counties throughout Illinois, had been declaring for a new party and adopting the name 'Republican,' as the party designation.[2]

For nearly a month it had been advertised that a convention

[1] *Address:* White, 5, 6, 12.

[2] For example: the *Joliet Signal*, Aug. 8, 1854, said that the Republican Party of that District was made up of Whigs, Abolitionists, and dissatisfied Democrats, and that the Fusion convention at Ottawa — a 'gathering of the turbulent and fanatical and the destructive and the revolutionary' — adopted the name 'Republican party.'

The *Ottawa Free Trader*, Aug. 5, 1854, described this same meeting as made up of 'whigs, abolitionists, know nothings, sore heads, . . . and fag ends in the country under a common name. . . . The proportion of the participants was about 8 whigs and 6 abolitionists, to one democrat.'

The *Rock River Democrat*, Aug. 8, 1854, declared that the 'new party' was composed of Democrats, Whigs, and Free Soilers, 'hunting for a name.'

Early in August, 1854, a meeting at Ottawa adopted the name 'Republican' and called a County Convention of the Republican party for Aug. 30. *Ottawa Weekly Republican*, Aug. 19, 1854.

In the First Congressional District during the same month, the Whigs formally adopted the name 'Republican.' *Free West*, Sept. 7, 1854. That journal, in making note of these conventions said: 'The Republican Party is already begun among the people . . . and so it will be extended . . . to the State organization.'

At the Bloomington Convention, Sept. 12, 1854, there was much wrangling about a party designation, but finally, 'the name Republican was acquiesced in.' *Ottawa Weekly Republican*, Sept. 16, 1854.

About the same time 'The People's Convention,' at Aurora, adopted the name 'Republican.' *Aurora Guardian*, Sept. 21, 1854.

The most active organizer of the Republican Party in Illinois was Ichabod Codding, the abolition and temperance lecturer. The Democrats charged that Codding — 'a sort of political evangelist' — was 'in the pay of the fusion leaders of Chicago.' *Ottawa Free Trader*, Sept. 15, 1854.

would be held in Springfield at two o'clock, October 5, for the purpose of forming a State organization of the Republican Party.[1] But Lincoln had made his speech at the hour named; so Ichabod Codding and Owen Lovejoy announced that the meeting would be held that night.[2] Herndon had been 'in conference' with the Fusionists all day, and knew that they planned to get Lincoln to speak for them.[3]

So the junior partner was alarmed. He, himself, was in hearty sympathy with the radicals,[4] but he knew that Lincoln was not;[5] and, what was infinitely more important as a matter of practical politics, he knew that it would never do for Lincoln to be at the Republican meeting. Many old line Whigs in Illinois were still unwilling to abandon their party and distrusted the radicals only less than they abhorred the Democrats. This, too, was Lincoln's position, and, as we shall see, he continued to maintain it for nearly two years after local and state organizations of the Republican Party had been formed. In his prospective race for the Senate, moreover, he would need the support of the stubborn old line Whigs, even more than that of the promoters of the new party, for there were many more Whig candidates for the Legislature than there were Republican candidates. So neither faction must be offended.[6]

Here was a predicament. The alert and resourceful Herndon got Lincoln out of it; he told his partner that he must instantly leave Springfield and stay away until the danger had passed. So, under the pretence of having business in Tazewell county, Lincoln hitched his horse to his ramshackle buggy, and made off on the wobbly but effective wheels of political prudence; and 'he did not return until the apostles of Abolitionism had separated

[1] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 6, 1854.

The notice in the *Free West*, Sept. 7, 1854, was: 'A Convention of all the citizens of . . . Illinois who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and to the further extension and consolidation of the slave power . . . will be held on the 5th day of October, A.D., 1854, at 2 o'clock, at Springfield, for the organization of a party which shall put the Government upon a Republican tack. . . . Papers throughout the State please copy.' *Ottawa Weekly Republican*, Aug. 12, 1854, concerning date and place of the Convention.

[2] *Address:* White, 12. [3] Herndon, II, 371–2. [4] *Address:* White, 12.

[5] 'He was too conservative for some of us.' Herndon to Weik, Oct. 28, 1885. Weik MSS.

[6] Herndon, II, 372.

and gone to their homes.' [1] Also Herndon saw Zebina Eastman of Chicago, editor of the Abolition organ of Illinois, who had come to Springfield to attend the Republican Convention. Herndon convinced Eastman that Lincoln was with them, and word to that effect was passed among the faithful.[2]

That night 'the friends of freedom' met in the Hall of Representatives, listened to fiery speeches, organized a Republican State Central Committee, and adopted resolutions most of which Lincoln disapproved.[3] Lincoln was chosen as a member of the State Central Committee, an honor which he declined, as we shall presently see. In fact not many attended, but the meeting made up in enthusiasm what it lacked in numbers.[4]

The Democratic organ was quick to make conspicuous the endorsement of Lincoln by the radicals. 'It was impossible for this black republican concern to carry on its proceedings without a decided expression in some way of the feelings of the ismites, resulting from Mr. Lincoln's speech,' said the *State Register*. 'Ichabod raved, and Lovejoy swelled, and all indorsed the sentiments of that speech. . . . They hoped that all would go home remembering the speech . . . that they might *know* that one great whig had fallen into their fold.' [5]

While the small but noisily earnest Republican Convention was in session, a big crowd of Democrats gathered in the rotunda of the State House where General Singleton, a 'Nebraska' Whig, and Major Thomas L. Harris, the Democratic candidate for Congress, spoke to the multitude in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.[6] During the remainder of Fair Week, the debate

[1] Herndon, II, 372. This 'saved Lincoln.' Also *Address:* White, 12.

[2] Eastman to Herndon, Jan. 2, 1866. Weik MSS.

[3] The resolutions declared that Kansas and Nebraska should be restored 'to the position of free territories;' that the Fugitive Slave Law should be repealed; that slavery should be restricted 'to those States in which it exists;' that slavery in the District of Columbia should be abolished; that slavery should be abolished wherever Congress had jurisdiction; that no more slave States should be admitted; that no further territory should be acquired 'unless slavery shall have been therein forever prohibited.' Nicolay and Hay, I, 386 *n.*

[4] 'Ichabod Codding, the notorious hireling of abolitionism, with a dozen or more congenial spirits . . . met in the hall of the house, with as many more, to devise ways and means . . . of forming a sectional party, and carrying out its nefarious project of dissolving the Union.' *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 7, 1854. Also *ib.*, Oct. 12, 1854.

[5] *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 7, 1854. Italics *Register's.* [6] *Ib.*, Oct. 5, 1854.

was continued by Trumbull, Breese, Edmund D. Taylor, and John Calhoun.[1]

Trumbull was the foremost of the anti-Nebraska Democrats in Illinois and one of the ablest of those party dissenters in the whole country. He was a candidate for Congress in the Eighth District, and his speech opening his campaign at Belleville had startled the regular Democracy 'like a clap of thunder in a clear sky.'[2]

Anti-Nebraska papers and speakers had acclaimed Trumbull as the strongest accession to their ranks, and the *Illinois Journal* praised him with the fervor which a party organ always bestows on a recruit from the opposition.[3] From the point of view of party politics in Illinois at that particular time, Trumbull's opposition to Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, was far more important than that of Lincoln the Whig; for Trumbull was the leader, as he was the hero, of other Democrats who were also defying the regular Democracy and its dashing leader. Presently we shall see these men prove their gratitude and devotion to Trumbull in a hard struggle with Lincoln.

Herndon was tireless. His next move was to get friends to sign a request to Lincoln to follow Douglas 'until he run him into his hole or made him holler, enough!'[4] Accordingly Lincoln was at Peoria when Douglas spoke on the afternoon of Monday, October 16. When he finished, the crowd cheered lustily, the band played, and there was the usual campaign

[1] Herndon, II, 371. *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 6, 1854.

The Weekly *National Intelligencer* said that 'among the most distinguished debaters on one side are Senators SHIELDS and DOUGLAS, and on the other Ex-Senator BREESE, Ex-Representative LINCOLN, and Judge TRUMBULL.'

Shields was very active throughout the campaign and made good speeches. Of these a fair example is one at Springfield, Oct. 16, 1854. *Chicago Times*, Oct. 20, 1854, clipped in Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 28, 1854.

[2] *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 28, 1854. 'What! Trumbull, the distinguished democrat of Southern Illinois . . . hurling truth, argument and defiance in the teeth of Senator Douglas? . . . It was the death blow to their [regular Democrats] hopes in Bissell's district. The Germans in St. Clair . . . are all with Trumbull — *all to a man*.'

[3] 'This able democrat and southron . . . is a man of decided talent, and most decidedly against slavery and Utah-democracy-slaveites and disunionists . . . who are now bidding high for the Presidency . . . Judge Trumbull has been Secretary of the State of Illinois and Judge of the Supreme Court, and this guarantees the fact of his ability and integrity.' *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 30, 1854.

[4] B. F. Irwin to Herndon, Feb. 8, 1866. Weik MSS. Those signing this request to Lincoln were B. F. Irwin, Wm. Jayne, John Cassady, and Pascal Enos.

enthusiasm. Then came calls for Lincoln.[1] He said that it was too late to speak then, but that he would talk that night. After supper, when the candles were lighted, Lincoln again made the Springfield speech, with additions of answers to points made by Douglas when closing the debate at that place.[2]

It availed Douglas nothing to deny that the Kansas-Nebraska Act would extend slavery and was designed to extend it, Lincoln said; for 'the world believed at the start, and will continue to believe' that such was the intention and that such would be the effect of that law. That was the 'countenance' of it, and it could not be changed — 'you can as easily argue the color out of the negro's skin. Like the "bloody hand," you may wash it and wash it, the red witness of guilt still sticks and stares horribly at you.'

Equally absurd was Douglas's point that 'congressional intervention never prevented slavery anywhere,' and that the principle of local self-government had expelled slavery in the free States. 'The northwest shore of the Ohio River is entirely free from it, while the southeast shore, less than a mile distant . . . is entirely covered with it.' What worked that miracle, but the Ordinance of 1787? Lincoln asked.[3] It was the same in Illinois and Missouri, with only the Mississippi River between them. While both were Territories, the Ordinance excluded slavery from Illinois and nothing kept it out of Missouri. So the number of slaves in Missouri increased over seven thousand and decreased fifty-one in Illinois in a single decade. 'Can any one doubt as to the reason of it?'

Douglas's assertion that Illinois came into the Union as a slave State was simply untrue, and Lincoln gave a swift historical summary. So far from 'the principles of the Nebraska bill' having expelled slavery from Illinois, the 'principle of the bill first planted it here.' Was it not, rather, 'the principle of the

[1] *Illinois Journal*, Oct. 21, 1854.

[2] *Works*, II, 190. 'At Springfield . . . I had spoken substantially as I have here.' *Ib.*, 249. Also *Address:* White, 11. And *Trumbull:* White, 40. 'In other respects they [Springfield and Peoria speeches] were the same.'

'Douglas sat on a front bench within ten or twelve feet of Lincoln during the whole of the latter's speech.' *Address:* White, 12.

[3] *Works*, II, 249–50.

Revolution' which caused the free States to abolish slavery?

The argument that the principle of self-government began when God placed good and evil before man, gave him the ability to choose and made him responsible, was not supported by the facts, Lincoln asserted. 'God did not place good and evil before man, telling him to make his choice;' God told man that he should not eat of the fruit of one tree, upon pain of certain death: that was stronger than any penalty that even Lincoln could wish against slavery in Nebraska.

The argument was the same as that for 'the divine right of kings.' By the one the monarch was responsible only to God for what he did with 'his white subjects;' and by the other, the white man was responsible only to God for what he did with his 'black slaves.' [1]

Douglas was wrong when he said that the Constitution provided for the suppression of the African slave-trade but did not prohibit it in the Territories; for 'the Constitution does not require the action of Congress in either case, and it does authorize it in both.'

As to the basis of representation in Congress, the fact was that in the South 'they count free negroes just as we do' and, in addition to their slaves, they have thirty thousand more free blacks than are in the North. So the advantage of the South over the North 'remains as I have stated it,' Lincoln contended.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act 'differs vitally' from the Utah and New Mexico Act of 1850 and the Washington Territorial Law of 1853: 'It finds no model in any law from Adam till to-day.' It was like Phillips's famous description of Napoleon, said Lincoln: 'Grand, gloomy and peculiar, wrapped in the solitude of its own originality, without a model and without a shadow upon the earth.' [2]

Douglas had said 'in substance that he had always considered this government was made for the white people and not for the negroes. Why, in point of mere fact, I think so too,' avowed Lincoln.[3] But Douglas had 'no very vivid impression that the negro is human, and consequently has no idea that there can be any moral question in legislating about him.'

[1] *Works*, II, 253. [2] *Ib.*, 258–9. [3] *Ib.*, 259.

That was the 'key' to Douglas's mistake '(if there is any such mistake)' in the Kansas-Nebraska Act; he cared as little whether a new country should be slave or free, as whether 'his neighbor shall plant his farm with tobacco or stock it with horned cattle.'

But 'the great mass of mankind . . . consider slavery a great moral wrong.' That feeling was 'eternal. It lies at the very foundation of their sense of justice, and it cannot be trifled with. . . . No statesman can safely disregard it.'

It was a 'bold denial of history' to assert, as Douglas had done, that the Compromise measures of 1850 were not interdependent, or that Illinois did not come into the Union as a free State; 'if we do not know these things, we do not know anything, . . . do not know that we ever had a Revolutionary War or such a chief as Washington. To deny these things is to deny our national axioms, . . . and it puts an end to all argument. If a man will stand up and assert, and repeat and reassert, that two and two do not make four, I know nothing in the power of argument that can stop him. . . . I cannot work any argument into the consistency of a mental gag and actually close his mouth with it. . . . I can only commend him to the seventy thousand answers just in from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana.' [1]

In the October elections, those States had reversed, by heavy majorities, their verdict of two years earlier; and this result plainly indicated the general outcome throughout the North in November.[2] This heartened Lincoln; but it did not dismay Douglas. Both men continued their appeals to the people, though not again did they meet on the stump during that campaign.

At this point comes another of those complexities in Lincoln's career, which defy explanation. About two weeks after the election and when he was an avowed candidate for Senator, Lincoln is reported to have told Herndon and two or three other friends in his office, that, when the Peoria debate was over, Douglas had proposed and Lincoln agreed, that neither man should speak again during the campaign.

[1] *Works*, II, 261–2. The *Illinois Journal*, Oct. 14, 1854, printed the returns of the elections in those three States.

[2] The Democratic press attributed these October defeats chiefly to the Know-Nothings and prohibitionists — 'the Nebraska humbug' was used merely as a weapon. *Indiana State Sentinel*, Oct. 14, 17, 19, 1854.

Douglas 'flattered me,' said Lincoln, 'by saying that I was giving him more trouble than all his opponents in the Senate, combined,' and made the proposal stated which Lincoln accepted; and neither spoke at Lacon next day, Douglas excusing himself on the ground of hoarseness and Lincoln ostensibly refusing to take advantage of Douglas's sore throat. But the following day, Douglas spoke at Princeton, thus violating the agreement, and this breach of faith angered Lincoln, who had honorably kept the compact.[1] Such is the tale that has gone into history.

Another ardent and trustworthy supporter of Lincoln, Dr. Robert Boal of Lacon, tells a different story. He and Silas Ramsey went to Peoria in a buggy to get Lincoln to go back with them to Lacon and again answer Douglas who was to speak there next day. Lincoln complied and the three made the trip together. During the hours they were thus together, testifies Boal, they talked about the meeting; but Lincoln said nothing of an agreement with Douglas not to speak.

So Boal is positive and emphatic that no such arrangement ever was made, and says that Douglas spoke at Princeton as announced and advertised.[2] If he did say that he would stop speaking during the last two weeks of the campaign if Lincoln would agree not to speak again, it was the only time in his life that Douglas ever asked quarter of any man or combination; and it was the most uncharacteristic thing that fearless and combative man ever did.[3]

For the remainder of the campaign, the antagonists spoke separately. One night in the court room at Urbana, 'lit with a

[1] B. F. Irwin to Herndon, Feb. 14, 1866. Weik MSS., endorsed by Isaac Cogdale and P. L. And see Herndon, II, 373–4.

'Princeton, Wednesday, Oct. 18,' appears in the list of Douglas's regular appointments in the *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 5, 1854, after 'Peoria, Monday, Oct. 16,' and 'Lacon, Tuesday, Oct. 17.'

[2] Boal to Herndon, March 5, 1866. Weik MSS. Boal's account is supported by E. N. Powell to Herndon, Feb. 10, 1866. Weik MSS.

Boal was a candidate for the Legislature, was elected and was one of the fifteen members who unwaveringly voted for Lincoln for Senator until Lincoln directed him to go to Trumbull. See p. 287, *infra*.

[3] Johnson discredits this story because of its slight support, because such a request was unlike Douglas, and because he and Lincoln continued to speak thereafter as though no such arrangement had been made. *Douglas:* Johnson, 266.

few tallow candles,' Lincoln repeated his Peoria speech with much effect [1] and to the particular delight of young Whitney, who gives us an account of it. Next morning, says Whitney, Lincoln 'went north via I.C.R.R. and as he went in an Old bus, he played on a boy [jews] harp all the way to the depot.' [2]

Toward the close of the campaign Lincoln spoke in Chicago. 'His speech . . . was as thorough an exposition of the Nebraska iniquity as has ever been made and his eloquence greatly impressed all his hearers,' ran the account in the *Chicago Journal;* 'but it was manifest, as he frequently remarked, that "he could not help feeling foolish in answering arguments which were no arguments at all."'

Here we get an example of the personal appeal to the public in Lincoln's behalf, which was so powerful an influence in his political advancement. 'Mr. Lincoln has seen something of life — not in the common acceptation of the phrase but in reality,' declared the Chicago newspaper, before describing Lincoln's speech. 'Born of parents who could only give him faith in rectitude and virtue, he has become what he is through the trials of poverty and by the sweat of his brow. How he guided a flatboat over the Ohio, or how he afterwards had his last article of property consisting of a chain and compass, sold under the sheriff's hammer, are matters of small interest now. How he became the most powerful speaker and one of the ablest lawyers in the West are of more moment.' [3]

Wherever Lincoln had appeared before or wherever he spoke thereafter, such tales of his humble origin, his early hardships and struggles, and his rise in spite of all drawbacks, were industriously told. In this fashion, as well as by his manner and talk, the feeling steadily grew that Lincoln was indeed a man of the people — a poor boy who had surmounted the hardest and highest obstacles, a typical American whose career showed what any hard working and right living young man of natural talent, could do for himself.

[1] Isaac N. Phillips to Weik, July 9, 1909, quoting a line from *Urbana Union*, Oct. 26, 1854. Weik MSS.

[2] Whitney's statement (no date). Weik MSS. Whitney, 215, gives Oct. 24 as the date of the Urbana speech.

[3] *Chicago Journal*, clipped in *Illinois Journal*, Nov. 3, 1854.

'This nation is to become a nation of slaves or a nation of freemen,' declared the *Illinois Journal* two days after the Peoria speech; but hastily added, 'we are not abolitionists.' [1] In such cautious fashion as the campaign drew to a close did the elements opposed to Democracy advance toward the doctrine of universal freedom. Here, too, we find the statement which we shall hear Lincoln again make two years later in one of the most celebrated speeches of his life; for it is almost certain that he wrote this editorial.[2]

At the election the Democracy was overwhelmed throughout the North. Although not so great as the Fusion victories in other States, the anti-Nebraska success in Illinois was notable. Five Fusionists were elected to Congress [3] and the four Democrats who won did so by reduced majorities.[4] While the Democratic candidate for State Treasurer was elected, the anti-Nebraska men carried the Legislature, but their coalition was unstable. Yet newspapers attached to the new party claimed that the election was 'Republicanism Triumphant.' [5]

Douglas ascribed the Democratic defeat almost entirely to the work of the Know-Nothings; [6] but he did not despair, and, with that curious mingling of courage and optimism which distinguished him, made a remarkable speech at a banquet in Chicago, the night after the election, in which he actually sounded a note of triumph.[7] The Democratic press, however, made accurate analysis of the causes of the party catastrophe. 'The Democratic banner has gone down before a torrent of

[1] *Illinois Journal*, Oct. 18, 1854.

[2] It had a bad effect in Springfield, and the next day the *Illinois Journal* emphasized its hostility to abolitionism: 'Abolition is an odious ephithet among us; and we do not believe that there are a dozen men . . . in Sangamon County to whom it can be properly applied.' *Illinois Journal*, Oct. 19, 1854.

[3] 1st Dist., Elihu B. Washburne; 2nd Dist., James H. Woodworth; 3rd Dist., Jesse O. Norton; 4th Dist., James Knox; 8th Dist., Lyman Trumbull. *Illinois Journal*, Nov. 13, 1854.

[4] 5th Dist., W. A. Richardson; 6th Dist., Thomas L. Harris; 7th Dist., James C. Allen; 9th Dist., Samuel S. Marshall.

[5] *Aurora Guardian*, Nov. 9, 1854.

[6] See his remarks in the Senate, Feb. 23, 1855. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong. 2d Sess., XXXI, Appendix, 215.

[7] This speech was published in full in the *Chicago Times*, Nov. 14, 1854, in the Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Dec. 2, 1854, and in many other papers, Whig as well as Democratic. It is one of the most brilliant speeches Douglas ever made.

abolitionism, Whigism, freesoilism, religious bigotry and intolerance,' wailed the *Joliet Signal*.[1]

But by far the strongest force that brought about the Democratic overthrow was the general public anger at the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Moreover, this antagonism to the supposed breaking of a 'sacred compact' in order to extend slavery was the biggest hammer wielded in the pounding together of the various elements of opposition and of reform which we have considered.

In the East, however, there was uncertainty for many days as to the complexion of the Legislature of Illinois. Almost two weeks after the election, Shields wrote to Lanphier from Baltimore, where he had gone to see Bissell who had been seriously ill at that place: 'We must save the legislature;' so let Lanphier send Shields a list of the members showing how they stand — 'Douglas and myself acting together here can act upon them at home.' [2]

But Lincoln in Springfield had satisfied himself that a majority of the Legislature were anti-Nebraska men, and he forthwith became an open and active candidate for Shields's place.[3] Promptly he began to write to members and to those who could influence them, frankly asking their support and help. Some of these letters, typical of others that have been lost, reveal again the methods of the seasoned politician in quest of office.

'I should be very grateful if you could make a mark for me among your members,' he wrote to an active party worker in DeWitt County. 'Please write me at all events giving me the names, post-offices, and "*political position*" of members round about you. . . . Let this be confidential.' [4] To a Whig member Lincoln wrote: 'A Whig may . . . be elected to the United States Senate; and I want the chance of being the man. . . . Think it over, and see whether you can do better than go for me. . . . Let

[1] Nov. 14, 1854. This was the general Democratic explanation. The *Washington Sentinel* said that the Democrats were defeated 'by the merger of every ism.' Nov. 22, 1854.

[2] Shields to Lanphier, Nov. 23, 1854. Lanphier MSS.

[3] Soon after the election several papers made note of Lincoln's candidacy. *Chicago Democratic Press*, as quoted in *Belleville Republican*, Dec. 2, 6, 1854; *Illinois State Register* in *Urbana Union*, Dec. 7, 1854, etc.

[4] Lincoln to Charles Hoyt, Nov. 10, 1854. *Works*, II, 262–3.

this be confidential.'[1] From the court room at Clinton, he sent word to a fellow partisan at Paris: 'I have a suspicion that a Whig has been elected to the Legislature from Edgar [County]. If this is not so, why then, "*nix cum arous;*" but if it is so, then could you not make a mark with him for me for U.S. Senator? I really have some chance. Please write me at Springfield giving me the names, post-offices, and political positions of your Representative and Senator. . . . Let this be confidential.'[2]

As in his race for the nomination for Congress, Lincoln was once more untiring and resourceful.[3] 'That man who thinks Lincoln calmly sat down and gathered his robes about him, waiting for the people to call him, has a very erroneous knowledge of Lincoln,' testifies his partner, when speaking of this particular struggle for office. 'He was always calculating, and always planning ahead. His ambition was a little engine that knew no rest. . . . His canvass . . . was marked by his characteristic activity and vigilance. During the anxious moments that intervened between the general election and the assembling of the Legislature he slept, like Napoleon, with one eye open.'[4]

Lincoln had been elected to the Legislature and so had Logan, each by a majority of about six hundred;[5] but, regarding this as an obstacle to his Senatorial plans, Herndon says, Lincoln resigned. The Democratic organ, when announcing the resignation, stated the reason and made an accurate forecast: 'Considering that Mr. Lincoln was, before the election, exceedingly desirous of the office, . . . why does he resign? The answer is plain enough. He seeks an election to the United States senate, *vice* Gen. Shields. In figuring up, his friends make his *possible* vote fifty-one on joint ballot, provided his vote should be included, which usage would necessarily prevent, and he could not afford to throw away his vote upon another candidate. To overcome this difficulty he has declined the seat, to fill it with a Lincoln man.

'*There is no chance for Mr. Lincoln. One of the whigs counted*

[1] Lincoln to T. J. Henderson, Nov. 27, 1854. *Ib.*, 263.
[2] Lincoln to Robert Mosely, Nov. 11, 1854. Herndon, II, 375.
[3] *Address:* White, 38. [4] Herndon, II, 375. [5] *Ib.*, 374–5.

on for him is a Nebraska man, and pledged to oppose any anti-Nebraska candidate. The anti-Nebraska democrats will oppose him, unitedly.' [1]

Nor were prospects of Republican support more encouraging. 'Mr. Lincoln is a Know Nothing,' asserted the *Free West*, 'and expects the full vote of the Republicans as well as the influence of the Know Nothings. . . . Our opposition is based upon short comings on the Republican basis. He is reported to be a Compromise Whig, and having a full attachment to that mummy of a party, which has . . . brought upon us all the calamities and defeats of the Republican movement. He dares not oppose the fugitive slave law — and he would not pledge himself not to go against the admission of any more Slave States.' [2]

After the election Ichabod Codding asked Lincoln to attend a meeting of the Republican State Central Committee. Lincoln brusquely declined. 'I have been perplexed some,' he wrote to Codding, 'to understand why my name was placed on that committee.' He had not been consulted, Lincoln complained, and, indeed, never had heard of it until he 'discovered it by accident two or three weeks afterward.' [3]

He was as much opposed to slavery as 'any member of the Republican party,' he told Codding; but he had 'supposed' that the extent of his opposition 'practically, was not at all satisfactory to that party.' The Republican leaders had heard the discussion between him and Douglas, said Lincoln, 'and had full opportunity to not misunderstand my position. Do I misunderstand them? Please write and inform me.' [4]

What answer Codding made, or whether Lincoln's name was kept on the Republican State Central Committee, is not known. It appears only that, in view of the approaching election of Senator, he was prudently circumspect. He continued to write

[1] *Illinois State Register*, Dec. 2, 1854. Italics author's.

[2] *Free West*, Dec. 14, 1854.

[3] Between Oct. 28 and Nov. 10, 1854. This assertion is hard to understand unless, perhaps, Lincoln was not at or in touch with Springfield during those weeks; for the *State Register*, Oct. 14, 1854, had made conspicuous editorial comment upon the appointment of Lincoln as a member of the Republican State Central Committee, and said that it proved him to be an Abolitionist.

[4] Lincoln to I. Codding, Nov. 27, 1854. *Works*, II, 264.

friends 'confidential' letters asking for support; but when he thought one of them might wish the place, Lincoln, with mingled generosity and deftness, recognized it. 'You have as just claims to the place as I have,' he told Gillespie; but if Gillespie would not be a candidate, then 'I should like to be remembered affectionately by you; and also to have you make a mark for me with the Anti-Nebraska members down your way.' Does Trumbull intend 'to make a push'? It will be hard to 'unite our forces. . . . If I could have your support, my chances would be reasonably good.' [1]

Lincoln did not write to 'all the members' in Washburne's Congressional District, since he was a 'total stranger' to them, and the 'indelicacy of the thing' might offend them — so would not Washburne 'drop some of them a line.' And, alas! 'Turner [2] . . . says he is not committed, and will not be until he sees how most effectually to oppose slavery extension.' [3] Again Lincoln wrote to Washburne that friends in Chicago would not answer his letters: 'I cannot get a word from them.' Wentworth would know the situation there. 'I wish you would pump him, and write me what you get from him. . . . Don't let any one know I have written you this.' [4]

The vigilant candidate thus advised another Whig member: 'We shall have a terrible struggle with our adversaries. They are desperate, and bent on desperate deeds.' One of their leaders in Springfield had written to a Democratic member that '"they outnumber us, but we must outmanage them. Douglas must be sustained. . . . We must elect a Nebraska United States senator, or elect none at all."' Such letters, no doubt, were going to all Democratic members. So consider 'how we can best meet, and foil, and beat them.' But 'do not speak of the Ne-

[1] Lincoln to Gillespie, Dec. 1, 1854. *Ib.*, 265.

[2] Thomas J. Turner of Stephenson County, who became Speaker of the House. Turner voted for Lincoln on the first two ballots, but thereafter withheld his vote. He had been a colleague of Lincoln's in Congress.

[3] Lincoln to Washburne, Dec. 11, 1854. *Works*, II, 266–7. In this letter Lincoln tells Washburne that one old Whig friend was beaten for the Legislature by a single vote, although, perhaps, by fraud: 'I have just examined the returns from that county at the secretary's [of State] office. . . . Our friends, however, are hot on the track, and will probe the matter to the bottom.'

[4] *Ib.*, Dec. 14, 1854. *Ib.*, 267–8.

braska letter mentioned above; I do not wish it to become public that I receive such information.' [1]

A member from Winnebago thought that Lincoln might not represent the whole State impartially: so Lincoln wrote Washburne that Northern Illinois always got his vote in the Legislature, when it was requested; that Washburne could testify that when Lincoln was in Congress and 'Mr. Turner was the legal member and you were a lobby member from your then district,' they always had Lincoln's 'feeble service for the asking' — of course he would be the 'impartial representative of his whole State' if elected to the Senate.[2]

When the Legislature organized, Lincoln telegraphed news of the result to Washburne, and then wrote to him more fully. The anti-Nebraska men had elected all officers of both houses, said Lincoln, albeit some of them were Nebraska men — a manœuvre to get 'one or two Nebraska Senators to go for bringing on the senatorial election.' There were 'ten or a dozen' anti-Nebraska men who were 'willing to be known as candidates' and 'fifty secretly watching for a chance,' said Lincoln. He had twenty-six committals, he added, which were more than any one else had; but 'there are more than twenty-two Anti-Nebraska members who are not committed to me.' Lincoln gave Washburne a statement in figures of the alignment in the Legislature — fourteen anti-Nebraska majority, a curious error to be explained only by Lincoln's anxiety to hope for the best.

But a misfortune had befallen Lincoln, although, in his enthusiasm, he seemed not to realize how serious that mishap was. Sangamon County had elected a Nebraska man to Lincoln's place in the House. They pretended to make no fight, he declared, but secretly told their men to be at the polls; the day was rainy, and they 'got a complete snap judgment on us' — over a thousand Whigs did not vote. But no matter — 'the result is not of the least consequence.' [3] The *Journal* contended that the result was due to perfect Democratic organization and 'still hunt.' [4] No lamer explanation of a defeat was ever put forward

[1] Lincoln to T. J. Henderson, Dec. 15, 1854. *Ib.*, 268–9.
[2] Lincoln to Washburne, Dec. 19, 1854. *Ib.*, 269–70.
[3] *Ib.*, Jan. 6, 1854. *Ib.*, II, 271–3. [4] Dec. 30, 1854.

by politicians. The election was on December 23, and at that time it appeared that every vote would be needed in the Legislature about to assemble. On that morning the *State Register* printed at the head of its editorial page, under the caption 'THE ELECTION TODAY,' a strong editorial for the Democratic candidate, Jonathan McDaniel.[1]

McDaniel was elected and Lincoln thus lost and the regular Democracy gained one vote in the General Assembly. The incident is peculiarly noteworthy in the story of Lincoln's career, since it is the only known political contest in which he was interested that he neglected. Unless the people had changed their minds and deliberately chose a Nebraska Democrat, the only possible explanation for Lincoln's oversight is that he was so intent upon his task of getting pledges from members of the Legislature in other counties, that he forgot to look after the critically important election at home.

Not often in the history of any State has a Legislature been so divided as that of Illinois on the election of a Senator of the United States; seldom have so many confusing elements existed. Among the Democratic members who had gone over to the anti-Nebraska forces were Norman B. Judd of Chicago, John M. Palmer of Carlinville, and Burton C. Cook of Ottawa, who had been elected to the State Senate in 1852. Another hold-over Senator, Uri Osgood, came from a district which, in November, 1854, had given an anti-Nebraska majority,[2] but he remained a regular Democrat, except when he voted to hold a joint session for the election of a Senator.

If these Democrats could induce Whig and Free-Soil members to vote with them, they could elect a successor to Shields, and break up the Democratic organization. But this could not be done if the Whigs stood together; in that case perhaps an election of Senator might be prevented altogether. For there was no law requiring a joint session of the two Houses, and by rigid adherence to old party lines either House might

[1] *Illinois State Register*, Dec. 23, 1854. There were four candidates for Lincoln's seat, N. M. Broadwell, Joseph Inslee, S. B. Smith, and Jonathan McDaniel. 'Of the four, the latter, in our opinion, is the most unexceptionable man.' He was elected by a majority of eighty-two. *Address:* White, 38.

[2] *Trumbull:* White, 41.

refuse to meet with the other, a not uncommon situation.[1]

With utmost frankness, Lanphier wrote to Douglas at Washington describing the deplorable party situation. The harassed Senator answered with equal unreserve in a letter marked 'CONFIDENTIAL.' The advice of the Illinois delegation in Congress, said Douglas, was to 'nominate Shields by acclamation, and nail his flag to the mast, and never haul it down under any circumstances or for anybody. The election of any other man would be deemed not only a defeat, but an ungrateful desertion of him, when all the others who voted with him had been sustained.

'We are of the opinion also that the Whigs will stick to Lincoln to the bitter end, even if it resulted in no choice this session, and the consequent postponement of the election, under the belief that they can carry the State next time for a Whig-Know-Nothing candidate for the Presidency and with him the Legislature.

'We also think that Bissel will be a candidate [for Senator] and will secretly urge his friends to press his name. In that event, it is probable the free-soil or Anti-Nebraska Democrats will cling to him until the last with the hope of bringing the Whigs over to Bissel.' This was the very thing they did for Trumbull.

But, Douglas continued, that or no election 'would be better than the election of Lincoln or any other man spoken of. At all events our friends should stand by Shields and throw the responsibility on the Whigs of beating him BECAUSE HE WAS BORN IN IRELAND.

'The Nebraska fight is over, and Know Nothingism has taken its place as the chief issue of the future. If therefore Shields shall be beaten it will be apparent to the people and to the whole country that a gallant soldier and a faithful public servant has been stricken down because of the place of his birth.

'Let this be made the issue in the Newspapers and in the Legislature and everywhere; and with reference to this issue let us rise or fall with Shields.

'This is the advice of our friends here. We think that this line

[1] *Trumbull:* White, 41.

of policy will probably lead to a postponement of the election, and in that event let every paper in the State put Shields' name at the head of its columns for Senator and keep it there until after the next legislative election.

'We are sure to triumph in the end on this great issue. Our policy and duty require us to stand firm by the issues in the late election, and to make no bargains, no alliances, no concessions to any of the *allied isms*.

'Let this letter be strictly confidential and show it to nobody except our friend T. L. Harris.[1] I have no secrets from him. I have implicit confidence in his discretion, firmness, and fidelity. Tell him that he must take personal charge of everything, and in no event leave Springfield even for a day during the Session.' [2]

So Harris took command of the regular Democracy in the Legislature. But Bissell did not become a candidate for Senator; instead Trumbull was put forward by Palmer, Judd, Cook, and two Democratic Representatives. These Democrats had refused to go into a caucus of their party — they wished to control their forty-two 'former party associates,' said the *State Register*, or else to unite with 'whigs, abolitionists, know-nothings and fusionists,' with whom the bolters agreed on nothing except the Kansas-Nebraska Act.[3] It soon became clear to everybody that the Democratic insurgents would never go to Lincoln or any other old line Whig, nor yet to Shields, nor to any 'Nebraska Democrat' whomsoever.

[1] Democratic Representative in Congress from the Springfield District, who had just been elected over Richard Yates.

[2] Douglas to Lanphier, Washington, Dec. 18, 1854. Lanphier MSS. Capitals Douglas's.

The *Journal* would not cease attacking Douglas. Just before the Legislature met, it accused him of speculating in Nebraska lands. *Illinois Journal*, Dec. 21, 1854.

While the Senatorial contest was going on in the Legislature, the *Journal* printed a letter purporting to be from a man in Mississippi to the editor of a Texas newspaper; the writer said that the news from Illinois was 'more favorable to the south than was anticipated.' Douglas had been there and assured his friends that 'Illinois will retrieve herself fully. I hope so. Mr. Douglas has a plantation and negroes in Lawrence county, and has no idea of losing it by the schemes of the free soilers.'

Upon this the *Journal* commented at length: 'Now with Senator Douglas's fortune in plantations and negroes in the South, is it possible that he can truly represent the sentiments of a *Free* State? Are not all his feelings and interests southern? . . . "Where the treasure is, there is the heart also."' *Illinois Journal*, Jan. 9, 1855.

[3] *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 6, 1855.

The Democratic organization could not permit a Democrat who had fought the party on the one issue that had been made a test of party fealty, to be chosen Senator over Shields who had stood faithfully by the party program. Neither could the organization afford to allow the insurgent Democrats to dictate the choice of Senator in any case.

Moreover all regular Democrats hated Trumbull and other active party dissenters with that peculiar virulence usually shown toward such disturbers. Trumbull, especially, was the object of their wrath, for he had been very active. So had Palmer, Judd, and Cook, whose warfare on Douglas had now developed into an implacable feud. Organization animosity was as acrid toward these men as toward Trumbull himself.

In the thick of plot and counterplot, the Springfield Democratic organ marked the insurgents for political destruction: 'Let the senatorial election result as it may, . . . the democracy will visit upon these men their deserts.' [1] Four days after this outburst the *Chicago Times* urged the Whigs to stand by Lincoln rather than yield to the Democratic 'malcontents.' [2] This meant, of course, the ultimate choice of a regular Democrat, or else no election and the consequent appointment of a Senator by the Democratic Governor.

Lanphier wrote to Shields that the election would go over. In that case, replied Shields, 'we will have a terrible time but I think a glorious victory [in 1856]:' but let the editor get proof of the pledges required by 'Lovejoy & Co.' as the price of their votes for Senator; if that price was the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, restoration of the Missouri Compromise and the like, those Republican radicals would be 'politically doomed.' The Democratic insurgents did not 'care two pins about Nebraska,' said Shields; what they really wanted was a Senator who would 'help them to break down Douglas,' for 'Douglas they have sworn to destroy.' When they fail to find a man 'to aid them against Douglas they will vote for me . . . — say the 80th or one hundredth ballot.' [3]

[1] *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 6, 1855. [2] As quoted in *Era:* Cole, 134.

[3] Shields to Lanphier ('Confidential'), Washington, D.C., Jan. 14, 1855. Lanphier MSS.

Plainly Shields, in Washington, did not yet know that, in Illinois, Palmer, Judd, and Cook had already secured a candidate who would assist them against Douglas and also comply with Lovejoy's demands.

Time and again the Senate refused to concur with the House for a joint session. 'The war of the factions goes on,' said the *Illinois State Register*.[1] On Friday, January 19, both Houses adjourned until Monday and most members went to Chicago or St. Louis.[2] While they were gone the heaviest storm since the 'great snow' fell upon Illinois, and for nearly two weeks the absentees could not get back. Springfield was snow-bound.[3] So not until Monday, February 5, was agreement finally reached in the Senate to meet the House for the Senatorial election.[4]

There were an even hundred members of the General Assembly. Of the twenty-five Senators, nine were Whigs, three were anti-Nebraska Democrats, and thirteen were regular Democrats. Of the seventy-five members of the House, twenty-eight were regular Democrats, and the remainder were anti-Nebraska men of all party affiliations, the largest single group being Whigs. But in the campaign, the anti-Nebraska Democrats had insisted that they represented the genuine and ancient Democracy and would purify the party, and it was impossible for them to vote for a partisan Whig for the national Senate. Also, many Whigs in the Legislature were none too ardent against the Kansas-Nebraska Act.[5]

It soon became apparent that Shields could not be reëlected. So the regular Democrats secretly planned to stampede the joint session for the Democratic Governor, Joel A. Matteson, by combining Shields's strength with that of some of the irregular Democrats and a personal following of the Governor which included certain Whigs.[6] Matteson was a rich man, very popular,

[1] Jan. 13, 1855. [2] *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 20, 1855.

[3] *Ib.*, Jan. 24, 30, Feb. 1, 1855. 'For twelve days not a single northern or eastern mail has reached this city; nor is any likely to reach here for three or four days to come. . . . Between this place and Joliet seventeen engines are locked in the drifts. . . . Springfield is now entirely cut off from all communication with the rest of the world.'

[4] *Senate Journal*, 171–2; *House Journal*, 274–5.

[5] *Era:* Cole, 141–2. *Trumbull:* White, 41–2.

[6] *Address:* White, 16. On the day before the Senatorial election, the Democratic organ stated that Matteson was not a candidate and, like 'nine tenths of the democracy

had contributed liberally to his party's campaign funds, and had never offended the Whigs.[1] Moreover, he had said nothing about the Kansas-Nebraska question, he was a member of the party organization and, as such, not objectionable to Douglas. In short Matteson was in an excellent strategic position, and the plan to elect him might have worked but for a curious and pregnant circumstance.

Gustave Koerner was Lieutenant Governor, and if Matteson was chosen Senator, would become the chief executive of Illinois. He was a man of fine character, good ability, and unusual education. But he was a 'foreigner,' a German immigrant, and like most people of his blood, had opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act because he believed that it extended slavery. The Know-Nothings in the Legislature, whether called Whigs, Free-Soilers or anti-Nebraska Democrats, would not permit Koerner to become Governor; and neither would the Douglas Democrats, who felt that he had deserted the party as Trumbull had done, and were accordingly bitter toward him.[2]

As a matter of preference as well as of party consistency, the anti-Nebraska Democrats were for Trumbull. Like them, he had come out against that measure and made many able speeches, and he had been elected to Congress by a large majority on that issue.

The remaining conspicuous candidate was Lincoln. He was still a Whig and, in addition to the old line members of his party, some anti-Nebraska men in the Legislature agreed to support him, 'mainly because they themselves were of whig sympathies.'[3] But there was no shadow of a possibility of his election, unless his traditional party foes, who agreed with him on nothing except the Nebraska question, would vote for him.

of Illinois,' he was for 'the re-election of the gallant Shields.' *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 7, 1855.

[1] Koerner, I, 601. Matteson was 'a farmer, a manufacturer, a contractor of public works, and a railroad man.'

[2] *Era:* Cole, 134.

After the popular election in November, 1854, the *Illinois Journal* printed several editorials friendly to the Know-Nothings, Nov. 18, Dec. 23, 1854. Yet during the campaign the *Journal* had ardently praised the Germans. For example see long editorial in the issue of Oct. 24, 1854.

[3] *Era:* Cole, 134.

Moreover, Lincoln's hold on his Whig-Free-Soil Republican merger was feeble, and we shall now see it quickly thrown off. Indeed those who had joined the new party voted for him with great reluctance and against the protest of one Abolition-Republican organ. 'We could not advise the republicans to support . . . Lincoln,' warned the *Free West*. 'He is only a Whig, and this people's movement is no Whig triumph.' [1] The disintegration of the fusion began after a single ballot had been cast.

At three o'clock Thursday, February 8, 1855, 'every inch of space' on the floor and in the galleries of the Hall of Representatives was occupied. Among the spectators in the gallery were Mrs. Lincoln and the wife and daughters of Governor Matteson.[2] The joint convention of the Nineteenth General Assembly of Illinois was in session. Shields, Lincoln, Trumbull, Matteson, and four others were formally put in nomination, and the fight that so greatly influenced Lincoln's development and career began.

The forty-five Fusionists who had promised to vote for Lincoln did so on the first ballot. Shields received the full regular Democratic strength of forty-one; while Senators Cook, Judd, and Palmer, with two Representatives, voted for Trumbull. Eight votes were scattered among other candidates. Gillespie voted for Cyrus Edwards.

For six ballots Shields's regulars stood fast, even gaining one on the fifth ballot. Lincoln lost on each of five ballots, touching thirty-four on the fifth and thirty-eight on the seventh, his largest vote after the first ballot. On the sixth trial, with Shields's men still unbroken, not a single vote was cast for Matteson and three Representatives went to a peculiarly violent and very young Democrat who was outspoken in his pro-slavery and Southern sympathies, John A. Logan.[3]

Then Douglas's lieutenant, Thomas L. Harris, in command of the regular Democrats, suddenly executed the Matteson coup. On the seventh ballot Shields's full strength, together with the three members who had just voted for Logan, went to the

[1] *Free West* as quoted in *Joliet Signal*, Dec. 19, 1854. [2] *Trumbull:* White, 42.

[3] Logan was then only twenty-eight years of age. Those voting for him were Hopkins, Gray, and Sams.

Governor. As man after man announced for Matteson, a desperate effort was made to rally the shattered Lincoln forces, but with scant success — only two returned.[1]

Lincoln's support now swiftly crumbled — on the eighth ballot but twenty-seven of his original forty-five remained. Matteson rose to forty-six, only five short of election; while Trumbull shot up to eighteen, eight of them going to him from Lincoln. Obviously, either Trumbull or Matteson would soon be chosen.

In view of his skill as a politician, it is hard to understand why, under the circumstances, Lincoln risked another ballot, for the speedy election of the Democratic Governor was more than probable. If eagerness had not dulled his judgment, the fact that Mrs. Lincoln was in the gallery is a possible explanation of the hazard he now took; for she was determined that her husband should win, and when, within the hour, she saw the triumph of Trumbull, her anger was so fierce, unreasoning, and permanent, that she refused then and forever afterward to speak to the wife of the victor, Julia Jayne, the intimate of her young womanhood and, until now, her closest friend.

By this time it was certain — indeed it never had been doubtful — that the anti-Nebraska Democrats in the Senate would not go to Lincoln; indeed, they could not be expected to do so in any case, since Lincoln had failed from the first to hold his strength and his supporters were now flocking to Trumbull. Moreover, Matteson was not so objectionable to them as was their old-time political enemy.

Also, in the eyes of his fellow anti-Nebraska Democrats Trumbull was then a more important man than Lincoln and far more deserving of their support. We must bear in mind that, in the winter of 1854–55, no human being, so far as is known, had an inkling of Lincoln's greatness; nor, at that time, did a ray of that fame which was to blaze about his name a decade later penetrate backward from the future through those hidden years.

Prudence, wisdom, custom, every consideration of practical politics — all required Lincoln to 'throw' his support to Trumbull instantly. Yet Lincoln took one more chance. The result was humiliating — on the ninth ballot only fifteen members

[1] Babcock and Foss.

continued to vote for him. More of his men flocked to Trumbull, who now had thirty-five in all, and Matteson had forty-seven.

At this point Gillespie asked Lincoln what to do. 'Go for Trumbull by all means,' said Lincoln, 'for if you don't the five anti-Nebraska Democrats who have been voting for Trumbull since the second ballot will go to Matteson and elect him.'[1] So the steadfast fifteen went to Trumbull, who gained another vote besides and, thus, on the tenth ballot was elected by the exact number required.[2]

When the struggle was over, young Whitney went to Lincoln's office and found his hero in the deepest depths of blackest melancholy. Never before or thereafter did Lincoln's associate on the Circuit see him so utterly dejected.[3] Yet that night at a reception given by Ninian W. Edwards Lincoln seemed in good spirits and heartily congratulated the victor.[4] The next day he wrote to Washburne:

'I regret my defeat moderately, but am not nervous about it. . . . Matteson's . . . defeat now gives me more pleasure than my own gives me pain. On the whole, it is perhaps as well for our general cause that Trumbull is elected. The Nebraska men confess that they hate it worse than anything that could have happened. It is a great consolation to see them worse whipped than I am. I tell them it is their own fault — that they had abundant opportunity to choose between him and me, which they declined, and instead forced it on me to decide between him and Matteson.'

Such was the conclusion of a long letter in which Lincoln explained his defeat. He so mixes the account of the political manœuvring before and during the balloting, that his statement somewhat lacks his usual clearness. He started with forty-four votes, he told Washburne;[5] but Matteson had been a candidate

[1] Gillespie to Herndon, Sept. 19, 1866. Weik MSS., partly copied in Herndon, II, 377 *n.* Gillespie adds that Lincoln said that the election of Matteson 'would be an everlasting disgrace to the State.' This is hard to understand since, at that time, the Governor was in excellent repute.

[2] For the ballotings in this historic contest see *House Journal*, 19th General Assembly of Illinois, 348–61.

[3] Whitney to Weik (no date). Weik MSS. [4] *Trumbull:* White, 45.

[5] The *House Journal* shows that Lincoln received forty-five on the first ballot.

'secretly . . . ever since (before, even) the fall election,' and got four to six members 'to really prefer his election to that of any other man — all *sub rosa*, of course.'

Although they were anti-Nebraska men, they were Democrats, they came from counties bordering on the Canal, and they were 'old personal friends' of the Governor. So Matteson had convinced them that he, too, was anti-Nebraska, or 'at least could be secured to be so by instructions' from the Legislature. One of these very men had voluntarily told Lincoln that he 'would walk a hundred miles to elect' him, yet, after a few ballots, he had flopped to Matteson.

The Nebraska men did not want the Governor, said Lincoln, but 'tardily determined to let him get whomever of our men he could, by whatever means he could, and ask him no questions.' Then others deserted Lincoln, he continued; and, although what was left of the anti-Nebraska force were willing to go into caucus where Lincoln could get the nomination, the five original Trumbull men [1] 'and two or three of the secret Matteson men,' were not willing — they '"could never vote for a Whig,"' they said, and this angered the Whigs, who retorted that they would not support any candidate of these unyielding anti-Nebraska Democrats.

So, apparently, Matteson was master of the situation, Lincoln admitted. 'We saw into it plainly ten days ago, but with every possible effort could not head it off.' Thus, when the balloting began, the Nebraska men were sure that Matteson would be elected and Lincoln and his friends thought so too. The vote for Shields was only a pretence of good faith, Lincoln charged, while the vote for Lincoln by 'secret' Matteson men was the same. Finally the Nebraska men threw off the mask and went solidly for Matteson.

Then Lincoln gave so strange an excuse for his loss of votes that it must be stated in his own words: 'In the mean time our friends, with a view of detaining our expected bolters [to Matteson], had been turning from me to Trumbull till he had risen to 35 and I had been reduced to 15. These would never desert me

[1] Senators Judd, Cook, Palmer, and Representatives Baker and Allen of Madison County.

except by my direction; but I became satisfied that if we could prevent Matteson's election one or two ballots more, we could not possibly do so a single ballot after my friends should begin to return to me from Trumbull. So I determined to strike at once, and accordingly advised my remaining friends to go for him, which they did and elected him on the tenth ballot. Such is the way the thing was done.' [1]

Although Lincoln wanted the office himself, said the *Illinois Journal* in its brief account of the contest, 'when it became apparent that he could not be elected, he pressed his friends to vote for Mr. Trumbull,' and they did so. But let Trumbull understand that 'it was not "because they loved Cæsar less, but because they loved Rome more."' The Douglas men did not want Matteson, the *Journal* said, but, since they could not elect Shields, they hoped that 'the known personal popularity of Gov. Matteson' would give him the necessary additional votes. But Lincoln's strategy spoiled their plan: so, 'Greetings to the Anti-Nebraska men throughout our wide land! ILLINOIS HAS SPOKEN!' [2]

The *Journal's* editorial enraged Lanphier. Dipping his pen in gall, he assailed Trumbull — a political traitor who 'months ago had gone into a secret midnight caucus with the *Journal* man, Lincoln, . . . and plotted the overthrow of the Democratic party.' The Democratic editor asserted that, even after the Legislature met, Trumbull and Lincoln had made a deal of mutual support for Senator then and four years later. From that moment, the *State Register* was certain that Lincoln would oppose Douglas in 1858.

The *Illinois Journal's* boast that Trumbull had been elected by Lincoln's friends at his request, 'more clearly confirms all that we have heretofore charged of the base coalition between these men,' wrathfully continued Lanphier. 'It was intended that Lincoln should be the man. But Lincoln was to be cheated at his own game, and Trumbull did it. . . . Lincoln "pressed his friends."' Huh! — 'he made a virtue of necessity, in hope that the day of recompense may yet come round, and when Trumbull

[1] Lincoln to Washburne, Feb. 9, 1855. *Works*, II, 274–7.

[2] *Illinois Journal*, Feb. 9, 1855. Capitals *Journal's*.

will aid in foisting him into the Senate as he had aided Trumbull.' [1]

Democrats in Washington lamented Shields's defeat — 'that gallant soldier and statesman was one of the noblest victims of the traitorous coalition of Know nothings, abolitionists and trading politicians,' furiously cried the *Washington Sentinel*.[2]

Greeley rejoiced. Trumbull was a true man. 'This glorious result is a fitting finale to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise by Douglas & Co., who have made their boasts that the recent Illinois election was a Nebraska triumph, and that there would be no election for Senator this winter.' [3]

But no newspaper, except those of Springfield, said anything about Lincoln.

Thus in the shivering little town of Springfield during the boisterous winter in 1854–55 was repeated a process old as politics — men rose and fell, ambitions were shattered or, for the moment, gratified, hatreds lighted, revenges plotted, plans for the future formed. But there and throughout the North was felt that current which was moving with ever-increasing force through stagnant waters; and we shall now see Lincoln, dazed and uncertain at first, caught up by that current, struggle feebly against it, and then, with clear eye and mighty stroke, go forward as it became a rushing torrent.

[1] *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 10, 1855.
[2] *Washington Sentinel*, Feb. 13, 1855.
[3] New York *Tribune*, Feb. 9, 1855.

CHAPTER V

CONFUSION AND DECISION: JOINING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The plan of the Emigrant Aid Company was to colonize Kansas, then the border Slave States; and the enterprise was intended to be a money making affair. ELI THAYER.

Great monied corporations are sending armed hordes from the slums of Eastern cities to seize Kansas, steal our property and endanger our lives. Missouri Border Resolutions.

There would have been no trouble in Kansas if emigration had been left to its natural causes and course. DOUGLAS.

If peaceable opposition to the laws of this bogus legislature is not enough, we will resist them to the bloody issue. Free State Resolutions.

Let there be peace. Revolutionize through the ballot-box. Your attempt to resist the laws of Kansas by force is criminal and wicked. LINCOLN.

The Republican party is the organized conscience of the North. It must and will prevail. SUMNER, Dec., 1854.

You inquire where I stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs and that I am an Abolitionist. I now go no further than to oppose the extension of slavery. LINCOLN, August, 1855.

'WHEN I received the bond I was dabbling in politics, and of course neglecting business. Having since been beaten out I have gone to work again,' wrote Lincoln to clients, soon after his defeat.[1] So over the dreary miles of the still scantily settled prairies, he once more made his way from court to court.

But Lincoln's heart was not in the practice of the law. Unceasingly he talked politics. His fits of melancholy became deeper and more prolonged, his periods of unseeing abstraction more intense, his outbursts of humor more startling.

With an eye on his political future, Lincoln took pains to please newspaper men. He sent ten dollars to Jacob Harding, an editor in central Illinois, because he had been reading Harding's paper for three or four years and had paid nothing for it: so let the editor put the money in his pocket, 'saying nothing further about it.' Soon afterward Lincoln wrote an article on politics and sent it to Harding with a request that he publish it in his 'valued paper.' The editor refused. 'I long ago made it a rule to publish nothing as editorial matter not written by my-

[1] Lincoln to Sanford, Porter and Striker, March 10, 1855. *Works*, II, 278.

self.' Lincoln thought it a good joke: 'That editor has a rather lofty but proper conception of true journalism,' he told Herndon, with a laugh.[1]

An incident in the Legislature two days after the election of Trumbull to the National Senate showed the bitter resentment of Lincoln's old Whig friends toward the Republican radicals who had deserted him. In resisting two resolutions offered by the Speaker, Thomas J. Turner, one against the acquisition of territory unless slavery were prohibited and the other for the amendment of the Fugitive Slave Law so as to give runaways the right of jury trial and habeas corpus,[2] Logan, 'nearly choking with emotion,' made a revealing speech:

'The whigs have been rode, and rode, and rode to death. . . . The whigs had been permitted to make a race for senator, just fast enough to *lose money*.'[3] Logan had no objection to Trumbull personally, he said, but the ruse by which he was elected was outrageous — those whom Lincoln had 'counted upon and looked to for support had deserted him.' Logan would stand it no longer. 'No!' he shouted, in announcing his vote. The hall rang with cheers for the defiant old Whig.

The Democratic organ exulted. Logan and the Whigs had deserved what they got. For weeks they had truckled to the radicals in order to get them to vote for Lincoln, only to be deserted in the end.[4]

While Logan, 'nearly overcome with grief,' expressed at last his pent-up feelings, his fellow Whigs sat glumly by, and the radicals, though 'looking as guilty as sheep stealers,' grinned

[1] Lincoln to Harding, May 25, 1855. Herndon, II, 376. This letter is not printed in Lincoln's *Works*, but is in Tracy, 57. Harding edited the *Prairie Beacon*, published at Paris, Edgar County.

[2] Turner offered four resolutions. The first was for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise and the second against the admission of Kansas or Nebraska as slave States. These were adopted, Logan and the Whigs voting for them. The last two, as stated in the text, were beaten, Logan and the Whigs voting against them. *House Journal*, Feb. 10, 1855, 391–2.

These votes accurately showed the split among the anti-Nebraska fusionists, and the position of Logan and the Whigs was exactly that of Lincoln at that time.

Soon afterwards, other 'abolition resolutions were "jay-hawked"' in like manner. *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 14, 1855.

[3] Italics *Register's*.

[4] *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 12; *Illinois Journal*, Feb. 13, 1855.

derisively.[1] Thus we get a flashing glance at personal antagonisms among men and elements that had yet to be merged into a single political force.

To bring about united action was a hard task; but we shall presently see Lincoln partly accomplish it, chiefly by putting aside every question which divided men, and centring their minds on the one and only issue upon which they agreed. That issue was opposition to the extension of slavery.

A question immediately arose that called for the use of these sensible tactics. In Illinois those who were united against slavery extension were divided on prohibition. Two days after Lincoln's defeat for the Senate, the Legislature passed the Maine Liquor Law.[2] There had been strong resistance and the friends of the measure won only by conceding two amendments.[3]

[1] *Illinois State Register*, Feb. 12, 1855.

[2] *House Journal*, Session, 1855, 411, Feb. 10; *Laws of Illinois*, 1855, 3-30; *Illinois Journal*, Feb. 12, 1855.

On Feb. 8 the Indiana Legislature passed an almost identical bill. When the final vote was taken, the dense crowd of men and women in the lobbies and galleries greeted the news with 'tremendous applause,' cannon thundered in the streets, bells in churches and engine houses rang for an hour, a big flag was suspended across Washington Street, school children cheered, and that night, the city was illuminated. 'It is indeed a great day for Indiana!' Indianapolis Correspondence, New York *Tribune*, Feb. 8, in issue Feb. 15, 1855.

Similar outbursts of jubilation took place wherever the Maine Law was enacted. By the end of Feb., 1855, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana had adopted prohibition. Mississippi and Texas had also enacted restrictive liquor laws and in other Southern States the movement for temperance legislation was vigorous. Ohio prohibited only the sale of distilled liquors. New York *Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1855.

In New York the fight for the Maine Law had raged throughout 1854. Greeley made it an issue second only in importance to 'the Nebraska fraud.' His leading editorial on election day was typical of like appeals all over the North:

'The morning, long waited for, dawns at last. Soldiers of Temperance, Humanity, and Freedom! your adversary is before you!'

Shall the 'Nebraska fraud' prevail? Shall 'this day's struggle . . . result in the triumph of . . . Rum? . . . Never were Virtue and Vice more fairly confronted in an election. . . .

'Pauperism, Beggary, Vice, Crime, Outrage, Homicide, and Murder, nearly always find their main incitement in the Intoxicating Bowl,' etc. New York *Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1854.

'Is slavery or intemperance the greater evil? The question is a standing one before all the debating societies of the country.' *Ottawa Free Trader*, July 29, 1854.

[3] In the Illinois Legislature the Lieutenant Governor, Gustave Koerner, led the fight against prohibition chiefly on the ground that it would cause worse evils than those it would cure. For brief account of the contest see Koerner, I, 620-2.

'Many of the ablest and most active and most efficient Sons of Temperance, openly

One of these was a referendum to the people at an election to be held June 4, 1855.[1] Logan had charge of the bill on its final passage through the House.[2]

While a majority of the native population was for prohibition, foreign born citizens were almost solidly against it.[3] Of these about ninety thousand were Germans. Their voting strength was not far from twenty thousand.[4] Most of them were Democrats, but all were as much opposed to the extension of slavery as they were to prohibition.

Many native born citizens were of like mind. Among these were some of Lincoln's associates and clients. One of them was Jesse W. Fell of Bloomington, a Quaker who had gone to Illinois from Pennsylvania about the time Lincoln went to New Salem. The two men became friends and, as the years passed, Lincoln relied more and more on his judgment. It was Fell who first proposed a series of joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas, and who first urged publicly that Lincoln should be made the Republican candidate for President; and it was to him that Lincoln wrote for campaign use, in December, 1859, the sketch of his life which has become so famous.[5] A leading anti-slavery man, Fell was in 1855, against prohibition.[6]

On the other hand, Herndon, while not an abstainer himself,

oppose the Maine Liquor Law on the ground that it is rather calculated to retard than advance the cause.' *Illinois State Register*, April 23, 1853.

[1] Koerner, I, *Laws of Illinois*, Act, Feb. 12, 1855. Sec. 40.

The other amendment was that beer could be made for exportation and that cider and wine could be made and sold in quantities of a gallon or more by those who grew their own apples and grapes.

[2] *House Journal*, 397, 411. [3] Koerner, I, 623. *Douglas:* Johnson, 144–5.

[4] Average of census of 1850 and 1860.

In 1855, Whig and Republican papers estimated the German population as greater than it was. As early as 1852, the *Quincy Whig*, of March 23, said that it was 90,000 and that German immigrants were then pouring into Illinois. By 1854 nine German newspapers were published. *Belleville Advocate*, Jan. 18, 1854.

Many German girls were brought to Sangamon County to work in farmers' families. *Illinois Journal*, April 2, 1855.

[5] *Trans. McLean County Historical Society*, III, 22.

[6] Fell MSS. Fell wrote a piece for the *Bloomington Pantagraph* in opposition to that reform. His points were that, in Bloomington, several city ordinances against liquor selling had not been enforced, and could not be; that 'if there is any one fact conclusively proven by popular governments, it is that laws irrespective of their quality — good or bad — to be properly enforced, must have the sanction of the popular voice;' that 'it is all nonsense to say we can enforce law against theft, and therefore why not against that

was hot for prohibition.[1] In 1854, the people of Springfield had voted against the sale of liquor within the city, the Council had acted accordingly,[2] and, as Mayor, Herndon had rigidly enforced the ordinance. He had gone personally to some, if not most of the groceries and 'told them they *must* close their doors,' and had prosecuted those who failed to do so.[3]

In this situation, with anti-slavery men sharply divided on prohibition, the campaign over the new law raged during April and May, 1855. The fight was incredibly abusive.[4] Douglas took no part, on the ground that he never interfered in local disputes.[5] Lincoln, too, kept hands off.[6]

that many regard as bad, the liquor traffic, . . . because all men say theft is a crime that should be punished, and one half, nay a majority in many communities look upon the liquor traffic as *not* a crime.'

Fell had founded the town of Normal, near Bloomington, and established there a training school for teachers. He was highly esteemed for his enterprise, rectitude, and good works.

[1] Herndon to Theodore Parker, Feb. 13, 1855. Newton, 77–8.

[2] *Illinois State Register*, April 19. Many towns did the same. *Ib.*, June 1; *Quincy Whig*, July 17, 1854.

[3] 'Valedictory of Wm. H. Herndon, Mayor of Springfield, on retiring from office.' *Illinois Journal*, April 11, 1855.

Herndon said that during this time 'the great cause of sobriety and temperance has advanced. . . . Women and children can now walk through our streets, highways, and alleys, at all hours, night and day, with scarce a fear of insult or harm. . . .

'There are a few places, yet in our city, where whisky, poisoned and deathful, is sold to the initiated few. Yet . . . not one half as much whisky is drunk now as in former years.'

[4] Koerner, I, 622–3.

[5] *Illinois State Register*, April 20, 1854.

[6] Newton, 77. Not until 1910 was any intimation made that Lincoln took part in this campaign. In that year a letter was published written July 5, 1910, by J. B. Merwin to Dr. F. D. Blakeslee of Binghamton, N.Y., Dist. Supt. Anti-Saloon League. Merwin wrote at Blakeslee's request. *Lincoln and Prohibition:* Charles T. White, 153–7. See Robert T. Lincoln to White, April 30, 1917. *Ib.*, 159–61.

Merwin, a professional temperance lecturer, said in his letter that Lincoln and he stumped Illinois together for prohibition in the campaign of 1855.

Merwin's letter was written when he was over eighty-two years old and fifty-five years after the event concerning which his reminiscence deals. No newspaper published in Illinois at that time mentions Lincoln as being at such meetings, albeit several notices appear of these gatherings and other speakers, and accounts of Lincoln's speeches on other subjects are always given. The Merwin story is on its face obviously imagination. See Barton, II, 450 *n.*

Of like character is the tale that Lincoln wrote the Illinois prohibition Act of 1855. While that measure was under discussion in the Legislature, Lincoln was a candidate for the Senate, and he did not risk the loss of a single vote. Moreover, the bill was almost a duplicate of the Maine Law, was the same then being pressed on the Legislatures of other States and needed no rewriting.

But the *Illinois Journal* strongly advocated the new law.[1] While the stand of the paper, of the junior partner, and of Logan, shows Lincoln's attitude, he said nothing publicly, nor have any private letters by him on the subject yet been discovered. Neither Herndon, nor Whitney, nor Davis, nor Palmer, nor Gillespie, nor Swett, nor Fell, makes any mention whatever of Lincoln in connection with the vigorous and noisy prohibition campaign of 1855; nor does his name appear in any newspaper notice or account of the numerous temperance meetings constantly held throughout those heated and clamorous months.[2]

Lincoln's sagacious policy during this political transition period, of saying nothing publicly about anything upon which the opponents of slavery extension were divided or uncertain, is illustrated by his long silence on three other matters of grave public concern which arose at that critical time. Two of them profoundly affected the thought and feeling of the whole country and did much to hasten the coming of civil war. Those two were the violence in Kansas and the assault on Sumner in the Senate Chamber. The third was the Know-Nothing riots of 1855.

On none of these subjects did Lincoln, then or ever afterward, write anything for publication over his own name. Nor did he

[1] For example, see editorials in issues of Feb. 26, 28, April 25, May 9, 10, 15, etc.; articles by a lawyer, signed 'xxx,' March 2, 5, 8, 12, 15, 17, 20; by 'Q,' March 13; by 'Prohibition,' March 19, 21, 24, 27, etc., 1855. Some of the editorials and articles were by Herndon.

The *Illinois Journal* also thrice published the law in full, March 13, May 10, and 26, 1855. And see a satirical piece on 'Protection from Fanatics' signed 'Pulltight, Hardscrabble, Sneekout & Co.,' June 2, 1855, probably by Herndon.

The *Journal's* position was against license in any case: 'Free liquor! or no liquor. . . . As for us, we are for PROHIBITION.' Editorial in issue of April 25, 1855.

'Let us take the *axe* and *maul* the Legislature has put in our hands, and go to work . . . until the fence is permanently secured around the whole field.' *Ib.*, March 24, 1855.

'The people will resist no law which is fairly enacted by the majority. . . . They will not overthrow order and law for a quart of whisky. . . . They cannot see self preservation in a tub of "rot-gut."' *Ib.*, Feb. 28, 1855.

[2] This campaign was unbelievably vituperative and very thorough. Koerner, I, 622–3. Yet a light vote was polled — 79,885 for and 89,915 against prohibition. *Illinois State Register*, June 20, 1855.

Sangamon County gave a majority of 604 against the new law. *Ib.*, June 9, 1855.

The biggest vote for the law was cast in counties where the New York *Tribune* had widest circulation and where Republicans and Abolitionists were most numerous. For full vote by counties see *Illinois State Register*, June 20, 1855.

make more than a casual reference to the turbulence in Kansas until the beating of the Massachusetts Senator and the increasing disturbances beyond the Missouri border had aroused the North and made possible the success of the Republican Party.

When, finally, at that decisive moment, Lincoln did speak out, and speak even with passion, he yet did not put on paper a word of the fiery denunciations he uttered. In the exercise of this self-restraint, he showed, as we shall presently see, the wisdom of the statesman as well as the astuteness of the politician. Then, too, almost up to the moment when, at last, he did announce himself, he was sadly confused on the political situation — a neutral condition which he frankly admitted, though privately, to the closest of his old-time friends.

The only public question about which Lincoln said anything at this particular time was slavery itself. Herndon tells of an illustrative incident. The son of a free negress, Polly, who lived in Springfield, went to New Orleans as a roustabout on a steamboat. He did not have 'free papers' and, as required by law, he was put in jail while the vessel was in port. When the steamboat was ready to leave the boy was overlooked and, in due time, he was advertised for sale to pay jail expenses. Polly appealed to Lincoln and Herndon and the partners applied to Governor Matteson to get her son released. The Governor could do nothing. With unwonted heat, Lincoln said:

'By God, Governor, I'll make the ground in this country too hot for the foot of a slave, whether you have the legal power to secure the release of this boy or not.' Finally Lincoln and Herndon raised, by subscription, enough money to pay the boy's prison charges, and so got him back to his mother.[1]

In general, however, so far as is known Lincoln said nothing publicly and little privately from the close of the campaign of 1854 to May 29, 1856, when, at last, he joined the Republican Party and made a speech of grandeur and power. Yet during those twenty months the North flamed with excitement which grew stronger and fiercer all the time.

This commotion was caused by what was said to be going on in Kansas; but while anti-slavery men raged and professional

[1] Herndon, II, 378–9.

agitators spoke in words of fire at innumerable meetings, great numbers of honest opponents of slavery extension were doubtful about the stories which came from that Territory.

Moreover, these cautious and conservative people were almost as much alarmed and repelled by the Northern extremists as they were by the evil tidings from the West. Yet, until this large and hesitant class were convinced and ready to help, no successful opposition to slavery extension could be made.

Thus an outline of the story of what happened in Kansas, and of what was alleged to have happened, is indispensable to the narrative of Lincoln's political career and of the sudden and unequalled growth of the Republican Party. Indeed, but for the Kansas agitation of 1854–56 and the Sumner-Brooks affair, the excitement over the repeal of the Missouri Compromise itself would have died; the Republican Party would have suffered the fate of its predecessors, the Liberty Party and the Free-Soil Party; and the door been closed to Lincoln's further political advancement in the direction it finally took.

We must now have in mind the facts related in Chapter III. The Kansas-Nebraska Act opened that territory to settlement by slave-holders as well as others, on equal terms. Even before that law was enacted, thousands of settlers from all over the country who had gathered along the border, began to move across the line and take up claims.[1] For the most part these were the people found in Kansas when the first census of that Territory was taken. This fact is important in the story that now unfolds.

In 1854, when the occupation of the two Territories could legally begin, the white population of the slave States was approximately seven million and that of the free States was over sixteen million.[2] The migration for long distances of the owners of many slaves was difficult and expensive. It meant the sale of plantations and similar arrangements of delay and inconvenience. Moreover, the abandonment of land and plants where slave labor was profitable for regions where gain was

[1] By the end of March, 1854, there were not enough Missouri River boats at St. Louis to take immigrants who were on their way to the Territories. They came in companies from Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. *Washington Union*, March 29, 1854.

[2] Average of census 1850 and 1860.

uncertain was not an attractive enterprise.[1] But the landless, the aspiring, the ambitious, the seekers for adventure, the searchers for new countries and wider opportunities, if unincumbered by slaves, could go anywhere with comparative ease. Millions of such people lived in the North and a lesser number in the South. So it had come about that the West and Northwest had been settled principally from the North and East. Amasa Walker advised Sumner that 'there will be an immense effort made to colonize the new territory with the friends of freedom,' if the Kansas-Nebraska bill should pass.[2]

During the debate in the Senate over the Kansas-Nebraska bill an energetic and resourceful member of the Massachusetts Legislature, Eli Thayer of Worcester, began to devise some practical and concrete plan to 'drive' slavery from Kansas. Presently he hit upon the idea of forming a business company to colonize that Territory with settlers from the free States and from abroad. So Thayer secured the grant of a charter of a corporation, the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, with a capital of five million dollars, 'for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West.'

Thus Thayer's corporation was in existence on April 26, 1854, more than five weeks before the immigrants could legally enter the Territories. The promoter was thrifty as well as philanthropic. His plan was to secure Kansas as a free State by filling the Territory with anti-slavery emigrants, and then similarly to colonize Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Texas, thus steadily narrowing slave dominion; [3] and at the same time, by taking

[1] 'The Southern planter does not take his force of negroes to a disputed territory. . . . It did not once occur during the contest for the Territory of Kansas.' Eli Thayer's speech in House, Feb. 24, 1859, as quoted in *History of the Kansas Crusade:* Eli Thayer, 246–7.

'The men of the North have nothing to fear who go to Kansas as to a free land. The true men of the South will not long care to be going there with their perishable Slave property while such uncertainty still clouds the future of the State. . . . The South has not the men to spare, . . . while from the North the wave of emigration is always flowing westward. . . . Moreover, the tide of foreign emigration Kansasward is through *our* ports, and *this* is a free *tide*.' New York *Times* (editorial), April 3, 1856. Italics *Times'*.

[2] Walker to Sumner, Brookfield, Mass., April 25, 1854. Sumner MSS.

[3] *The New England Emigrant Aid Co.*: Thayer, 27–9. Thayer actually did begin this process in Virginia when the Kansas fight had been won. *Ib.*, 59, 268; also Thayer to *New York Herald*, clipped in *Liberator*, April 24, 1857. This invasion of Virginia was

up land adjacent to good town sites, by the rental of implements and mills to settlers, and by other forehanded schemes, to make the struggle for freedom a profitable enterprise.[1]

Cautious New England investors were wary of Thayer's grandiose scheme, however, and little stock was subscribed. So he and his fellow promoters formed a private concern under the title of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and went ahead with their plans. None of these men were Abolitionists; they wanted rather to prevent the extension of slavery and then gradually choke it to death. Indeed Garrison, Phillips, and the thorough-going Abolitionists assailed Thayer's scheme because, among other things, it was to be carried out by force and would cause the shedding of blood.[2]

Let the Company's emigrants go to Kansas as the Pilgrims came to New England, adjured Sumner.[3] Greeley said that he

also to be thrifty. 'I assure you that it is our purpose to be strictly a business organization.'

Soon after its organization, the Emigrant Aid Company published a book *Kansas and Nebraska: An account of the Emigrant Aid Companies.* It was written by a young clergyman, Edward Everett Hale.

The volume contained an extensive and detailed description of Kansas, directions to emigrants, etc.; and, in view of what followed, made statements of vital importance. For example:

'Several thousand men of New England origin propose to emigrate this very summer [1854].' 225.

'Such a removal of an over-crowded population is one of the greatest advantages to eastern cities.' 226.

'Applications from German agents have already been made to members of the company.' 225.

'There needs no Peter the Hermit to enlist crusaders. The crusaders are already on their way.' 243.

'Every indication now points to victory. The movement of freemen is ten times as fast as is possible to men who must sell plantations before they move, and carry field hands before they can labor.' 246.

[1] The 'investment . . . promises large returns at no distant day. . . . The company . . . will possess several reservations of six hundred and forty acres each, on which its boarding-houses and mills stand. . . . These points will then be the large commercial positions of the new State.' Hale, 227.

The London *Times* printed a long letter from a citizen of Boston, which stated that the promoters of the Emigrant Aid project had 'more *purely business ends* in view' than the winning of Kansas for freedom. 'They anticipate . . . *that the philanthropic bread cast upon the waters will return in the shape of comfortable dividends.*' The writer gave specific examples of the profit-making features of the Emigrant Aid Company's project. London *Times*, clipped in *Washington Sentinel*, Dec. 23, 1854. Italics *Sentinel's.*

[2] *Emigrant Aid:* Thayer, 53. And see the *Liberator* from May, 1854, to 1857.

[3] Sumner to Thos. Drew, Chairman Mass. Committee, May 1, 1854. *Works*, III, 334–5.

would help arouse the North at once and the New York *Tribune* became a mighty propagandist of Thayer's scheme.[1] Whittier wrote a hymn, sung by the emigrants when starting from Boston, at stops along the way, and after they reached Kansas:

'We cross the prairie as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the Free!' [2]

Typical of other provocative verses, also sung by Emigrant Aid Company settlers and printed in the Company's Kansas newspaper, was

THE FREEMAN'S SONG

'Traitors shaped in Southern mould
Have our honest birthright sold;
Wolves are set to guard our fold;
Shame, Democracy!

From our mountains in the North
Freedom's legions sally forth,
Shouting o'er the trembling earth
Death to slavery!' [3]

News of the five million dollar Massachusetts corporation formed to colonize Kansas awakened excitement, anger, and alarm among the people of Western Missouri.[4] Counties along or near the border had large populations and many slaves; and it was feared and believed that the organized and, as they thought, heavily financed, effort to force free emigration into Kansas would result in systematic inducements to their slaves

[1] Thayer, 36–51; New York *Tribune*, May 29, 30, June 1, 1854.

[2] 'The Kansas Emigrants.' Whittier's *Poems*, III, 176–7. Also see Thayer, 165.

[3] Whittier's hymn and 'The Freeman's Song' were printed in the first number of the *Herald of Freedom*, the organ of the Emigrant Aid Co., published at Wakarusa (Lawrence), Kansas, Oct. 21, 1854, soon after the Company's first emigrants arrived.

Another stanza of Whittier's poem was:

'We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's southern line,
And plant beside the cotton-tree
The rugged Northern pine!'

[4] *Kansas:* Leverett W. Spring, 28. 'Powerful capitalized societies.' Channing states that the company never took in more than $140,000.

to escape, and in the final destruction of slavery in Missouri itself.

Worse still, it was thought that the thousands of blacks would be incited to rise against the whites, burning and slaying as Nat Turner and his maddened negroes had done in Virginia. Then came tidings that Free-Soil and Abolition members of Congress had organized another Emigrant Aid Society to accomplish the same purpose for which Thayer's Massachusetts Company had been formed.[1]

Heated editorials were published in the newspapers of western Missouri and irritated men in boisterous meetings passed wrathful resolutions. Millions were being spent, they said, to send to Kansas swarms from the slums of Eastern cities. European paupers were to be herded into the new Territory. The people of western Missouri welcomed honest immigrants, they declared, who came to Kansas to stay and make homes; but they resented this directed horde of paid 'nigger stealers' who were coming to 'abolitionize' Kansas, and, in the end, Missouri too.[2]

[1] Each member of the Congressional Emigrant Aid Society gave from fifty to a hundred dollars. It had a room and secretary in Washington and sent circulars all over the country. Testimony of Daniel Mace before Congressional Investigating Committee on the Troubles in Kansas, 829. This report will be quoted as *Howard Committee* in subsequent references.

[2] Westport Resolutions, June 3, and Independence Resolutions, June 5, 1854. *National Weekly Intelligencer*, June 24, 1854. Weston Resolutions, Aug. 20, 1854. *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 15, 1854.

At first the *Independence Messenger*, Whig, and the *Agrarian*, Democratic, both published at Independence, strongly condemned such resolutions. Weekly *National Intelligencer*, July 1, 1854; *St. Louis Intelligencer* quoted in *Illinois Journal*, Sept. 15, 1854. The bad feeling soon spread, however, and the expression of it grew more heated.

On Dec. 25, 1854, came the Lafayette Co. Resolutions: 'Societies were formed . . . [and] money contributed . . . for the purpose . . . of buying up, and sending to the territory of Kansas . . . a set of deluded, ignorant and vicious tools of knavish abolitionists. . . . Such as would be thus bought up . . . would be a wicked, debased and abandoned class, dragged forth from the dens of filth, vice, misery and crime of the Northern cities.' So pro-slavery emigrants must be protected against these incendiary hordes, etc. *Washington Sentinel*, Jan. 7, 1855.

On Jan. 1, 1855, the Ray County Resolutions were adopted: 'Emigrating aid-societies — rendered efficient and potent by money . . . [are] shipping to that Territory [Kansas] hundreds and thousands of mercenaries, picked up from the purlieus of Northern cities. . . . We regard the course . . . as a lawless crusade' and will resist it. *Washington Sentinel*, Jan. 18, 1855.

Similar resolutions were adopted at Douglas, Kansas, Jan. 22, 1855, but additional charges were made: 'We have the undoubted evidence before our eyes of the existence of a speculating company in Boston, Massachusetts, who entertain designs of vast schemes

They never heard of the collapse of the five million dollar corporation, and, if they had been told of its breakdown, they would not have believed it. Rumor swelled as it stalked through the border counties, just as we shall presently see it bloat when it parades through New England and the North.

Something more than talk was necessary to thwart the plans of the Emigrant Aid Companies, said the pro-slavery leaders of western Missouri. So secret societies were organized to 'counteract' the activities of those 'abolition' associations. Those societies were called 'The Blue Lodge,' 'The Social Band,' 'The Sons of the South.' [1] Exaggerated and terrible descriptions of such organizations were circulated throughout the North, almost as soon as they were formed.[2]

Chief among the promoters of these societies and the most active and blatant of the pro-slavery leaders were Senator Atchison and Benjamin Franklin Stringfellow.[3] They were as fanati-

of speculation in lands, towns, and mines, and to obtain possession of the fairest and most valuable portions of Kansas Territory,' etc. *Herald of Freedom*, Feb. 17, 1855.

For such utterances free State emigrants expressed contempt: 'A barking dog never bites. . . . They [Missourians] can't muster up enough of slaveholders to make a colony. They are very mad at Massachusetts for donating five million dollars to send people that are not able to move here, and fill up this Territory with voters, who will bring it in free. They say that they had better liberate their slaves at once than to have them run off by the Canada underground railroad. . . . But what can they do?' Letter of John Chrisman, free State Kansas settler, June 4, 1854, in *Goshen* (Ind.) *Democrat*, copied in New York *Tribune*, July 6, 1854, describing Weston meeting, which Chrisman attended.

[1] *Douglas:* Johnson, 283. *Howard Committee*, 3; Testimony of E. C. McCarty, 855–6; of Leander Ker, Chaplain U.S. Military Post, Ft. Leavenworth since 1842, 859, *et al.*

The testimony before the Congressional Investigating Committee is overwhelming that almost all Missourians and a large number of settlers believed that the whole trouble came from the Emigrant Aid Company's plans and operations. Some of these witnesses were from the free States. See, for example, *Howard Committee*, 1175, 1180, 1182, *et seq.*

[2] New York *Tribune*, June 29, 1854.

[3] Stringfellow was a young lawyer of Weston, Mo. In 1854 he was about thirty-eight years old, a natural leader and well liked. Even the *Herald of Freedom*, which denounced him with utmost virulence during the Kansas struggle, paid him this tribute when it was nearly over:

'He is quite popular with his friends. In the Southern acceptation of the word, he is much of a gentleman, affable and generous,' etc. *Herald of Freedom*, Nov. 22, 1856. And see *Annals of Platte County:* W. M. Paxton, 943.

Late in 1854, Stringfellow wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Negro-Slavery, No Evil;* or *The North and the South: A Report made to the Platte County Self-Defensive Association.*

The Emigrant Aid Societies had been organized by Abolitionists, said Stringfellow, 'to throw into Kansas a horde who shall not only exclude slaveholders from that territory, but in the end abolish slavery in Missouri. . . . We find these miscalled emigrants

cal for slavery as the wildest Abolitionist was for emancipation. During the turbulent months before us, the truculent words even more than the imprudent actions of these two men were used with crushing effect against them and the cause they so fiercely championed.

On Friday, July 28, 1854, the first company sent out by Thayer arrived in Missouri and made their way to Kansas. Nearly all were young men. No disturbance took place; but some of the emigrants said savage things about slavery. This had a bad effect on the slave-holding communities of the border.[1] The second Emigrant Aid contingent of two hundred left Boston toward the end of August. It was joined at Albany by a hundred more, and the number was increased at every station along the way. A third company started in September.[2] Many of these Emigrant Aid Company men took Sharp's rifles with them.[3]

Other Aid Companies sprang up in the free States, and by the fall of 1854 larger numbers of eastern and northern emi-

really negro-thieves. . . . They are not freemen, but paupers, who have sold themselves to Ely Thayer & Co.'

They said boldly what they would do. One 'emigrant' declared on the streets of Weston, that he 'would *willingly help burn the d—d slaveholding town.*' Many free negroes appeared and then several runaway slaves — 'our very lives were endangered.' Arson and murder were threatened. So, said Stringfellow, came the Self Defensive Association.

'Ours [the border], now the most prosperous portion of our State, will in a short time become a desert waste.' The plan was to 'abolitionize' Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, etc.

'We respect honest home seekers, even though their opinions, disagreeing with ours, end in our ruin;' but Thayer's slaves who come to steal our property and drive us from our homes must be dealt with by the strong hand, just as Indian cattle thieves were treated, etc.

Stringfellow's tract was reprinted by the N.E. Emigrant Aid Co., Boston, 1855.

[1] Missouri Correspondence, New York *Tribune*, Aug. 6, in issue of Aug. 12, 1854. After giving his story, the correspondent volunteered advice to emigrants from the North:

'By all means, forbear uttering hot and angry words. They effect no good whatever, but tend only to exasperate the feelings of the slaveholder and southern men generally. It is my earnest conviction, that a large majority of the people of Missouri are not only willing but eager that Kansas shall be secured to Freedom. But if they once get the idea that organizations are formed in the East for the purpose of interfering with what they call their legal rights in the State of Missouri, such an intense degree of excitement will be raised as must necessarily defeat or postpone indefinitely, the accomplishment of our objects.'

[2] New York *Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1854; Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 2, 1854.

[3] 'As for "Sharp's rifles," I know many went along with the emigrants. . . . No organization *openly* provided such implements at first, but they generally formed a part of

grants were going to Kansas or were on their way.[1] Letters sent home brought companies of 'young and spirited men' from the North to join their comrades in the land of conflict and promise.[2] Sympathetic newspapers were full of accounts of these pilgrimages to carry out Thayer's 'plan of freedom.'[3] Tremendous crowds greeted the emigrants all along the route.[4]

Others, also from the North, were entering the Territory or preparing to go there; but these were ordinary settlers such as had peopled the West and Northwest, and were not controlled by the Emigrant Aid Associations. Large numbers were from Illinois.[5] In fact the great bulk of all emigrants to Kansas were from States west of New England and New York.[6] Many went to Nebraska. Aside from those sent by the Emigrant Aid Company, not all Northern settlers were against slavery,[7] and none of them took arms.

Many also went from Missouri, Arkansas, and Kentucky. Not all of the Southern emigrants were for slavery and few of them carried weapons for warfare. For several months they outnumbered those from the North; but in October, 1854, the

the equipment of our colonies. The directors furnished them on their individual responsibility.' *Emigrant Aid:* Thayer, 45.

[1] Correspondence *Boston Post,* Aug. 16, clipped in *National Intelligencer,* Sept. 2, 1854. 'Our young Territory is filling up with a rapidity unparalleled except in the case of California.' *Kansas Herald,* clipped in *Washington Union,* Oct. 25, 1854.

[2] Thayer, 168–70, 180–1. [3] *Ib.,* 171–8. [4] *Ib.,* 184.

[5] *Urbana Union,* March 23, June 8; *St. Clair Weekly Tribune,* April 22, Oct. 14; *Belleville Advocate,* May 10; *Alton Weekly Courier,* Oct. 5, 1854.

[6] 'There are more men from Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana than from all New England and New York combined.' Lane in Chicago speech, May 30, 1856. *Kansas and the Kansans:* William E. Connelley, II, 597.

Unless specifically indicated, the account of the Kansas struggle hereafter given in the text, including references to letters, documents, speeches, newspapers, descriptions of men and towns, are from Mr. Connelley's book; the official report of the testimony taken by the Howard Committee (H. R., 34th Cong. 1st Sess., No. 200); *Journals of Council and House of the Kansas Legislature,* 1855; the *Congressional Globe; Annals of Kansas:* D. W. Wilder (new ed. 1886); the *Kansas Historical Collections* and the *Publications of the Kansas Historical Society,* especially the articles by Mr. Connelley in those series of volumes; the *Herald of Freedom; Kansas Free State;* New York *Tribune;* New York *Times; New York Herald,* for period under review.

Nearly all histories of Kansas and Missouri, and of the counties involved, written as late as a generation after the Civil War, are wholly one-sided and anything in them, except official records, must be used with extreme caution.

[7] *Illinois Journal,* April 13, 1854; *St. Clair Weekly Tribune,* June 3, 1854, etc.

tide began to turn.[1] Even in mid-summer of 1854 the correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* reported to his paper that many Missouri emigrants to Kansas were opposed to slavery and that the Territory was sure to become a free State.[2] While some slave-holders took up claims, no slaves had been carried to Kansas by the beginning of winter.[3]

At the head of Thayer's first party was Charles Robinson, the principal agent in Kansas of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. He was a big man, with large bewhiskered face, bald head, and cold, steady gray eyes. It would have been hard to find an abler manager for such an enterprise. He was prudent, daring, and resourceful; and he was experienced in frontier life. He had been one of the gold-seekers in California and had taken part in the turbulence that preceded the organization of that State. He was in Kansas to make money for himself as well as to make the Territory a free State.[4]

Robinson led his colonists to a place on the prairies near the Wakarusa River, some forty miles from the Missouri line. Immediately the New England men got into a quarrel with the settlers who were already on the ground which Robinson chose for a town site.[5] But the trouble was finally settled by buying the squatters' claims, and a town was founded, named Lawrence, in honor of the principal financial backer of the Emigrant Aid Company, Amos A. Lawrence of Boston.[6] Throughout the period of this narrative, its houses were little better than shanties of sod, grass, and clapboards, together with some

[1] *Washington Star*, clipped in New York *Tribune*, Oct. 5, 1854.

[2] *Indiana Sentinel*, July 25, 1854. 'The people of Missouri . . . received him everywhere cordially, and treated his opinions with the greatest respect.'

[3] *Washington Star*, in New York *Tribune*, Oct. 5, 1854.

[4] For description of Robinson as he appeared at this time see *Beyond the Mississippi:* Albert D. Richardson (1867), 44. An extremely laudatory account of him is the *Life of Charles Robinson:* Frank W. Blackmar.

'He accumulated a fortune, becoming the most wealthy citizen of the State in his time.' *Kansas:* Connelley, I, 430. And see *An Appeal to the Record:* Connelley, 23–4, 53.

[5] Letter from Fort Leavenworth, Oct. 11, 1854, in *Boston Post*, clipped in Weekly *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 4, 1854.

'Both parties are represented as preparing for hostilities.' Letter from a New England Settler, Lawrence, Oct. 4, 1854, in *Milwaukee Sentinel*, as quoted in *Washington Sentinel*, Oct. 27, 1854.

[6] *Life of Amos A. Lawrence:* William Lawrence, 83–4.

mud, so scattered that it was hard to tell the 'miry' streets; and its chief business was horse trading and land speculation.[1] Robinson promptly engaged in the latter, bought lots in town prospects, and laid out a town of his own.[2]

During all this time Kansas was without any government whatever. No one knew even how many settlers had gone into the Territory, or where they came from. In Nebraska, on the other hand, a census had been taken promptly and a legislature had been elected, and this body was actually in session more than a month before the inhabitants of Kansas were enumerated.[3]

The cause of this difference in the administration of the two Territories was the curious and, to this day, unexplained delays of the Governor of Kansas, Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania. He was a good lawyer, forty-five years old, fat, gray-haired, with large prominent blue eyes and ministerial whiskers. He had been appointed by President Pierce in June, 1854, at about the same time that a Governor for Nebraska had been named, but Reeder did not go to his post for more than three months afterward.

When, finally, on October 7, 1854, he did reach Kansas, immigrants from the North were coming in rapidly. Pro-slavery

[1] Recollections of Early Days in Kansas. Thaler Worthell Eldridge, Pub. Kansas Hist. Soc., v, 17 1907. Richardson, 7–9.

Some emigrants were disappointed and became bitter towards the Aid Companies. J. H. Howe, leader of a company from Clermont, said publicly that those organizations "were managed by leaders of poor well-meaning and honest people to leave their homes and rush into the Territory, without means to sustain themselves there, who must suffer everything but death and many of them that if they remain." As quoted in the Herald of Freedom of Lawrence, clipped in Worcester Spy, Jan. 16, 1855.

And see, especially, the testimony of John B. Ingalls, in Howard Committee, 341–4. Ingalls lived near Boston and went to Kansas with a party sent by the Emigrant Aid Co.

[2] The town of Quindaro, named after Quindaro Gardner, wife of Abelard Guthrie. Richardson, 72–3. In 1854 Richardson found lots in this place selling at $1,500 each; and lots in Lawrence as high as $2,000 each.

[3] "Things are moving off finely in our other Territory. The governor . . . drives matters forward. . . . The districting of the Territory has been accomplished, and already men are abroad to-day taking the enumeration. So soon as that is completed the apportionment will be made, and elections for members of the assembly and delegates to Congress will be ordered. . . . Charming Nebraska. Homes for Millions will soon say yea assembly and delegate." Correspondence of Boston Atlas, clipped in Worcester Transcript, Nov. 15, 1854.

The Nebraska elections were held Nov. 29, 1854, and the Legislature convened Jan. 16, 1855.

men urged him to take a census and order elections. The Governor refused. He must make a 'tour of inspection,' he said.

While on this journey Reeder bought lots in several towns [1] and purchased much land adjacent to the likeliest of them. With associates the Governor also started a town of his own, which he called Pawnee City. Reeder's financial plans were ambitious. Pawnee was near the junction of streams which formed the Kansas River; he counted on running steamboats to his town, and he put money into two such craft that made trips to Lawrence.[2] Unluckily for him, the Governor's town-site was on a military reservation, not yet open to exploitation. His fellow promoter, Col. Montgomery, in command of the post, Fort Riley, was court-martialed and dismissed from the Army, as soon as the Government learned of his part in the scheme.[3] Upon Reeder's town of Pawnee the fate of Kansas, the fortunes of the Republican Party, and the career of Lincoln, presently turned.

As we swiftly review the main events that now took place in the Territory, we must have in mind the vital fact that Lincoln had personal reports from a man on the ground. Among the broken-down politicians, unsuccessful lawyers, and failures in business who, from South and North alike, went to the new Territories for 'another chance,' was a dissolute Illinois attorney, Mark W. Delahay. He was then twenty-seven years of age and had married a fifth cousin of Lincoln's mother. When in court at Petersburg, Lincoln had been wont to associate with Delahay, just as he had prized the company of Jack Kelso in New Salem.

In the spring of 1855 Delahay bought a pro-slavery paper, the *Kansas Herald*, published at Leavenworth, and changed its name to *Territorial Register*.[4] It took the side of the ordinary settler, and earnestly advocated the Free State cause. Delahay

[1] Leavenworth, Lawrence, Tecumseh, Topeka, etc. They cost Reeder little or nothing because he was Governor. *Kansas:* Connelley, I, 411.

[2] *History of Jackson Co., Mo.*, Union Historical Co. (Kansas City, 1881), 425–6.

[3] President Pierce's Special Message, Jan. 24, 1856. *Messages:* Richardson, v, 352–60. The defence of Reeder was that, while Pawnee was adjacent to Fort Riley, it was not actually on the Reservation; and that Davis, then Secretary of War, extended the military tract over the site of Pawnee after that town project had been started. These assertions were wholly false.

[4] Paxton, 190; Wilder, 65; *Galena Courier*, clipped in *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 20, 1856. It does not appear where Delahay got the money to buy and run the *Register*.

kept Lincoln informed of developments in Kansas, and, of course, sent him copies of the *Register*.[1] These facts may explain Lincoln's long silence on the controversy we are now to witness, and his deep and lasting dislike of Reeder.

Without taking a census the Governor ordered the election of a Delegate to Congress. It was held on November 29, 1854, when winter had opened. Atchison urged Missourians to thwart the designs of the Emigrant Aid Company by going to the ballot-box in Kansas.[2] Stringfellow incited the Missouri border counties to save the day, even by the shedding of blood if need be.[3] Several hundred young men, mostly armed, crossed the border and voted illegally for the pro-slavery candidate, John W. Whitfield, the Government Indian Agent. He would have been elected without them — for a majority of the legal voters were still pro-slavery — and in spite of fraud on the Free State side, or, at least, attempted fraud.[4]

Even on this first trial of strength at the ballot-box, the Emigrant Aid Company's colony at Lawrence was not caught napping. Wilson declared in the Senate that when the Missourians came to that stronghold, they found Robinson, 'the Miles Standish of Kansas,' and his men, 'ready to meet the issue with powder and ball.' [5]

[1] Whitney, 375. The Delahays migrated to Kansas when it was first open to settlement. 'Mark was distressingly impecunious and awfully bibulous: and when the Kansas struggle was on, he was in communication with his distinguished connection about politics out there.' See also Weik, 221–7.

[2] 'If a set of fanatics and demagogues a thousand miles off could afford to advance their money . . . to abolitionize [Kansas] . . . what is your duty? When you reside in one day's journey of the territory, and when your peace, your quiet, and your property depend upon your action, you can without an exertion send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favor of your institution. Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided quietly and peaceably.' *Illinois Journal*, Dec. 4, 1854.

[3] Wilson in *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 91.

[4] Spring, 40–1. The *Washington Sentinel*, Dec. 17, 1854, said that, even if the Missourians did vote, 'they had just as much right to exercise suffrage as did the paid emissaries of the miserable Abolition "Emigrant Societies" of the North.'

'The votes of those sent out by the Emigrant Aid Societies . . . were nearly all given in one district [which included the town of Lawrence] . . . 150 left on the day following the election, having complied with their contract in voting!' Stringfellow to Southern Congressmen in *ib.*, Jan. 12, 1855.

[5] *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 90, Feb. 18, 1856.

Writing from Kansas, Dec. 2, 1854, a correspondent of the *Washington Union* said that Whig and abolition papers would print 'the most exaggerated stories and fabrica-

But the news went out that the 'Slave Power' had struck its first blow in the conquest of Kansas. The *Illinois Journal* reprinted from the *St. Louis Democrat* a letter stating that five hundred men had gone from the border Missouri counties 'determined to vote if it had to be done at the point of the bowie knife.'[1] In the New York *Tribune* Greeley urged resistance.[2] Other anti-slavery papers followed his lead. Stringfellow's 'blood' speech was reprinted throughout the North.[3] The Free State men of Kansas acted quickly. A secret military organization, the Kansas Legion, was formed.[4]

The Democratic press laid the whole blame on the Emigrant Aid Company and similar organizations. 'We believe the insane boastings of the "Emigrant Societies," and other kindred bodies of men, did much towards electing the Democratic delegate in Kansas, by such an overwhelming majority,' declared the *Rochester* (N.Y.) *Advertiser*.[5]

Then over the plains swept the winter of 1854–55. Many emigrants who had staked out claims, went back home until spring. Practically all from Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas returned to their comfortable houses for the months of cold and blizzard.[6]

Toward the end of winter the Governor ordered the taking of a census. It was a strange time for such work. Two feet of snow covered the ground. The enumeration showed only a little more than eight thousand inhabitants, and a majority of some hundreds were from the South. Most of these settlers were the emigrants who had gathered on the border in anticipa-

tions. . . . General Whitfield was fairly, honestly, and honorably elected by the squatters of the Territory.' It had been a hot campaign and the 'friends of the administration had won.' *Washington Union*, Dec. 15, 1854.

[1] *Illinois Journal*, Dec. 15, 1854.

[2] New York *Tribune*, Dec. 7, 1854.

[3] *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 91.

[4] Testimony Dr. John P. Wood in *Howard Committee*, 658. Also Senate Committee Report No. 34, March 12, 1856.

[5] Clipped in *Washington Sentinel*, Dec. 13, 1854.

[6] Testimony Dr. John H. Stringfellow, in *Howard Committee*, 353. Also statements of Senator George W. Jones of Iowa, *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 409, April 16, 1856; and of Douglas, *ib.*, 361. 'A large majority of the emigrants . . . returned to their old homes . . . with the view of going back to Kansas in the Spring with their families. . . . These facts are well known to the Senators from the Western States.'

tion of the opening of the Territories. A much smaller number were those sent out by the Emigrant Aid Company, but these formed the nucleus for all Free State men in Kansas.

As spring opened the tide of migration from the North once more began to flow. Then, at last, Reeder ordered the election of a legislature, to be held March 30, 1855, more than two months after the Legislature of Nebraska had convened and four months after it had been elected. Pro-slavery men, especially those in western Missouri, said that the date of the election was known in Boston and Pennsylvania, long before the Governor announced it in Kansas.[1] Reeder stoutly denied that he had given such information or that anybody could have done so.[2]

But the suspicion first aroused in the Missouri border counties by news of the five million dollar Massachusetts corporation was strengthened. The belief became general that Reeder was carrying into execution in Kansas a conspiracy formed in New England. So Atchison implored his Missouri constituents to 'beat the Yankees at their own game,' Stringfellow talked ferociously, and the Blue Lodges held dark and fearful sessions. Whether the scared and angry border had learned of the Kansas Legion, is not known; but the pro-slavery leaders took no chances. Moreover, they honestly and very fervently believed that many 'emigrants' had recently gone into Kansas merely to vote and then return East.[3]

[1] Testimony of M. P. Rively, *Howard Committee*, 384–6; Charles E. Kearney, merchant of Westport, Mo., who heard in Boston, Feb. 21, of date of election, 852–4; William H. Miller, Parkville, Mo., 863; F. M. Mahan, Clerk on steamboat between St. Louis and St. Joseph, 867–70, *et al.* Also William G. Mathias in debate in Kansas Legislature, July 23, 1855. Kansas Correspondence, New York *Times*, July 24, in issue Aug. 4, 1855.

[2] Testimony of Reeder. *Howard Committee*, 934–5.

[3] Testimony of William T. Donaldson, *ib.*, 851–2. This witness, a livery man of Westport, swore that he took several wagon loads of men from the river landing into Kansas and brought most of them back after the election.

E. W. Donaldson. *Ib.*, 854; Isaac M. Ridge of Kansas City, 861–2; Alexander Gilham, merchant, Westport, 848–51; J. B. Evans, 846; J. Riddlesbarger, 844–6; Henry M. Blossom, Clerk on Steamboat *Polar Star*, 838–40; W. H. Chick, Kansas City Commission Merchant, 835–6.

This charge was made as to the first election, Nov. 29, 1854; 'The fact of [that] hundreds of the hirelings of the Abolition "Emigrant Aid Society" have left Kansas . . . since the recent election . . . proves conclusively that the only purpose for which they were sent, was to control the election in that territory.' Lafayette Co. Resolutions, Dec. 25, 1854. *Washington Sentinel*, Jan. 7, 1855.

Thus it happened that, when election day came March 30, 1855, the Kansas sun rose on an army with banners. More than five thousand Missourians had crossed the border to vote for pro-slavery members of the Legislature. All were armed. Some carried muskets and other weapons taken from the United States Arsenal at Liberty, Missouri. They had cannon, too, and the military aspect of the invasion was heightened by flags, fifes, drums, and a band or two. Also a good deal of whisky was an attractive part of the commissariat and kept up martial spirits.[1]

In such fashion a heavy pro-slavery vote was piled up. In some cases the Missouri cohorts went to the absurd extreme of electing members who lived in that State. Their work done, the array marched back in hilarious triumph. With bands playing and drums rolling, they paraded about the public square at Independence, Missouri, cheered by admiring women and men who lined the streets.[2] The *Squatter Sovereign*, a paper which Stringfellow had newly established to champion slavery in Kansas, was frantic with joy.[3]

Yet it is doubtful if, at that particular time, a single Missouri vote was needed to carry the election. Notwithstanding that fraudulent voting was probably done by Free State immigrants as well as by the invaders, the genuine settlers of pro-slavery views, were, probably, still in the majority.

Tidings of the picturesque outrage fairly set the telegraph wires on fire. Mails were burdened with lurid descriptions of this armed and drunken assault from Missouri on the ballot-box in Kansas. The real facts were bad enough; but, by repetition and distance, accounts of them grew into grotesque legends. The anti-slavery press exhausted the vocabulary of horror. The New York *Tribune* led the onslaught. Greeley invented the term 'Border Ruffians,' and those burning words were attached to all who lived in western Missouri.[4] Henceforth they were

[1] Correspondence New York *Tribune* from St. Louis, April 10, in issue of April 17, 1855.

[2] *St. Louis Republican*, clipped in New York *Tribune*, April 9, 1855.

[3] The first issue of the *Squatter Sovereign* appeared immediately after the taking of the census in Feb., 1855. Paxton, 197. Also New York *Tribune*, April 6, 1855.

[4] New York *Tribune*, April 10, 12, 1855. The Missourians were enraged by Greeley's

represented as savage, ignorant, brutal creatures, with long unkempt hair, unshaven faces and ferocious bearing, roughly clad, with battered hats, frowsy shirts, bowie knives sticking out of boot-tops, revolvers thrust in belts, rifles held menacingly. Northern emigrants were pictured as well attired, unarmed, intelligent men, of orderly deportment, grave but kindly countenance, industrious, sober, religious, law-abiding. As a matter of fact, the costume, manners, and speech of the frontier were much the same. Living in sod huts, log cabins, or, now and then, a rude stone dwelling, and undergoing that toil, discomfort, and hardship inseparable from the settlement of unbroken plains, the emigrant from Massachusetts, Illinois, or Pennsylvania, soon looked like other settlers.

Since the incursions of the Border Ruffians were chiefly from the western counties of Missouri, it becomes necessary to examine briefly the kind of people who lived there; for the struggle for Kansas now developed into a contest between these counties, on the one hand, and anti-slavery people of the whole North from Maine to Minnesota, backed by a strong sentiment in Missouri itself, on the other. Atchison and Stringfellow made frantic appeals to the South for help.[1] That section was thor-

phrase 'Border Ruffians.' *St. Louis Republican* in New York *Tribune*, July 12, 1855.

'Those slave-breeders and slave-drivers mean to carry Kansas at the point of the bowie knife and the muzzle of the revolver.' New York *Tribune*, April 13, 1855.

'The rabble sent to overpower the actual voters of the Territory, were of the lowest grade of whites that can be found in a slave country, . . . the most degraded class of mortals.' *Ib.*, April 17, 1855. Also St. Louis dispatch, April 10, in same issue.

'The Missouri bullies. . . . Slavery is to be extended indefinitely over this Continent.' *Ib.*, April 27, 1855. The issue of July 13, 1855, was full of tales of Kansas outrages.

See also *Illinois Journal*, May 8, 1855. Country papers printed columns in a single issue. For instance, *Alton Weekly Courier*, May 10, 1855, had three columns.

A fair example of descriptions of the people of western Missouri published in many Northern papers and believed by most Northern men, women, and children, is this:

'In no other civilized land can there be found so obscene, depraved, brutish a race of beings, as inhabit the border counties of Missouri. A visit to their border towns is indeed sickening. Bar-rooms, saloons, and grog-shops are always filled with a drinking, gambling, swearing, fighting, blaspheming gang of loafers . . . who talk . . . mostly of killing Abolitionists in Kansas, ravishing the women, and carrying to their bestial dens the young and beautiful.' Kansas Correspondence in New York *Times*, Feb. 9, in issue of Feb. 25, 1856.

[1] 'Inasmuch as those laws [of migration] have been violated . . . by the force of money, and a powerful organization in the North and East, it becomes the South "to be up and doing," and to send in a population to counteract the North. . . . Thus far a few counties

oughly canvassed, many meetings were held, fiery speeches were made, inflammatory resolutions adopted. But the South, as a whole, remained indifferent, an attitude that caused the *Charleston Mercury* and three or four other organs of 'Southern rights' to foam with despair and wrath.[1]

In 1855 the communities of western Missouri were duplicates of that in which Lincoln was born and spent his early childhood in Hardin County, Kentucky. Excepting only the element of slavery, they were identical, too, with those among which Lincoln lived while in Indiana and after he came to Illinois.[2] The

in Western Missouri have successfully encountered and defeated this powerful organization.' Atchison to *Atlanta* (Ga.) *Examiner*, clipped in New York *Tribune*, Jan. 19, 1856.

'I was somewhat alarmed, when I saw our Southern friends seemingly ready to surrender it [Kansas], deterred by the declaration of those on whom they were accustomed to rely, that "it was not adapted to slave labor," while, at the same time, Abolitionists were organizing their companies, with millions of capital, to colonize that Territory. . . . Were they to succeed, it needs no prophet to foretell the speedy dissolution of the Union. Missourians have thus felt, that . . . they are not only defending their own homes, but the Union itself. To protect their homes, they have made their homes in Kansas. . . . While the people of Missouri are not "lawless invaders," many have moved into Kansas mainly induced by a determination to adopt all lawful means to protect themselves from the invasion of Abolitionists.'

'*Will Kansas be a Slaveholding State?* I answer without hesitation, it will.' Stringfellow to Southern Congressman, *Washington Sentinel*, Jan. 12, 1855. Italics Stringfellow's.

[1] 'Looking to the past and the present, many a brave heart might despair of the South. . . . Is she dead.' *Charleston Mercury*, as quoted in *Washington Sentinel*, Oct. 6, 1854.

'The "Decree of Omnipotent Slave power that Kansas should be a slave state" is the fiction, a morbid fancy; not in harmony but in conflict with the political records of that time. . . . There is no evidence that the controlling element of the South had any organized purpose or even expectancy of taking possession of Kansas.' *Foot Notes on Kansas History:* R. G. Elliott, 3, 7.

Channing in his *History* gives a summary of the efforts made in the South to send money and men to help pro-slavery men in Kansas. VI, 164–6.

Journals of the Legislatures of Southern States and laws passed by them do not show that any funds were appropriated, and private contributions were trivial compared to the sums raised in the North.

[2] The Missouri counties from which nearly all the Border Ruffians came were Jackson, Lafayette, Clay, Buchanan, Platte, Ray, and Saline. In 1850 these counties had a population of 68,586 whites, 18,259 slaves and 213 free negroes.

There were 225 public schools, 229 teachers; 14,217 pupils, as returned by families, went to school during the year and 6,903 attended steadily; while twenty-nine academies and other like institutions had forty-one teachers and 1,182 students. All Missouri witnesses before the Congressional Investigating Committee signed their names.

The foreign born population was negligible. Almost every family lived in a house of its own. *Census*, 1850.

Even better than the Census, as showing the kind of people living in the leading border counties, is *Annals of Platte Co., Mo.*, W. M. Paxton. Other 'histories' of these

worst of the Border Ruffians were about like the Clary Grove boys; and the best (for judges, ministers, teachers, and lawyers took part in the invasion) were similar to the better elements of New Salem, Springfield, and other towns and counties among which Lincoln lived up to the time of the Kansas struggle. These Missouri people were the same who had driven the Mormons from their State, just as had been done in Illinois.[1]

There was earnest Free-Soil sentiment in the border counties, but the pro-slavery men were now dominant and well-nigh crazed with anger and fear. Their violence and fraud, especially at the election of March 30, were denounced by the *Industrial Luminary*, published at Parkville, Platte County, Missouri. The press of that paper was, therefore, seized, broken, and thrown into the River. 'This outrage brought a myriad of anti-slavery voters to Kansas.' The publisher sued the leaders of the mob for destroying his property, recovered twenty-five hundred dollars damages, went to Illinois, and became wealthy.[2]

Immediately after the election, Robinson took militant action. The Free State Hotel, then building for the Emigrant Aid Company, was made into a fortress. It had thick walls, loop holes, flat roof and parapet with concealed embrasures for cannon.[3] George W. Deitzler was sent East for more Sharp's rifles.[4] They were promptly supplied and additional quantities were forwarded as the struggle developed.

The rifles were shipped in boxes and barrels marked 'Crockery,' 'Books,' 'Revised Statutes,' 'Hardware,' 'Boxes of Primers,' 'Bibles.'[5] How many were furnished during the period

counties, written after the War, either suppress reference to the border troubles or make hasty note of them with almost pathetic partisanship or fear.

[1] Channing, VI, 168. Thousands of Mormons were on their way to Utah at the time of the first excitement in Missouri over the Emigrant Aid Co.'s plans:

'It is estimated that 6,000 emigrants, with about 3,000 wagons and 30,000 head of stock will start from this place the present season for the Great Salt Lake Valley.' Letter from Atchison, Kan., June 19, in New York *Tribune*, July 4, 1855.

[2] Paxton, 198–9.

[3] *Life of James H. Lane:* John Speer, 22–3. The hotel was fifty by eighty feet, basement walls two feet thick, first story twenty inches and remainder eighteen inches, parapet around roof two feet thick and two high, port holes six feet apart, 'mortared over to prevent observation from without.' B. Johnson [builder of hotel] to Speer, Oct. 21, 1894.

[4] *Ib.*, 23; Spring, 60–1.

[5] Lawrence, 97–8. Also testimony of Dr. John P. Wood, before Howard Committee,

under review is not known. Amos A. Lawrence testifies that he sent a hundred in a single shipment.[1] The weapons were not provided by the Emigrant Aid Company as such; they were given by the members and by others, as private persons.[2]

When Reeder announced that he was ready to canvass the returns of the election, delegations from both sides, heavily armed, went to Shawnee Mission, where the Governor had his official residence, made protests, charges, threats, and, in general, stormed at each other. But, after full consideration, Reeder issued certificates of election to nearly all the newly chosen members; he refused such authentication to only eight of them and ordered a new election to fill their places. Although pro-slavery men ignored this election, three of those rejected by the Governor were again chosen. Thus all but five of the whole body were certified by the Governor as having been duly elected.

So came into existence the celebrated 'bogus' Legislature of Kansas, which, even long before it assembled, the anti-administration press and speakers outlawed.[3] 'We repudiate

659. 'They wanted to put them in my warehouse.' Samuel F. M. Salters, 1157, 'I saw them opened.' John M. Smith, 1169, *et al.*

[1] Lawrence, 96–8.

[2] 'Mr. Lawrence and others of the Company provided a large quantity of arms and ammunition and sent them to Kansas in 1855. I myself bought two cases of rifles . . . in the spring of 1855. . . . Dr. Robinson's firm and decided policy and the fact that the settlers were well armed with *Sharpes rifles* and ready to use them, caused the retreat of the Missourians from Lawrence. During the Kansas troubles . . . I expended of my own money, $4,500 for the purchase of rifles and cannon.' Thayer, 45–6.

'The *Philadelphia Ledger* states that Theodore Parker told them in his anti-slavery address in that city, last week, two-hundred of Sharp's rifles had been sent from Boston in boxes labelled "books." . . . All the statements about preparations for defense . . . have been furnished by the enemies of freedom. . . . Will not our New England friends take the hint . . . and send on a few hundred Sharp's rifles, and while about it suppose they add a thousand or so of that excellent treatise known as "Colt's home argument against oppression?" . . . Ten balls to each [rifle] per minute would be equal to 600 per hour. . . . If Missouri has a desire to march upon Lawrence . . . with such a shower of one ounce balls flying in their face, each ball, too, capable of being sent with precision on its mission of death, three miles, then the people of that State possess more courage than we have given them credit for.' *Herald of Freedom*, June 16, 1855.

And see 'The Sharp's Rifle Episode in Kansas History:' W. H. Isely. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XII, 546–66. This paper deals chiefly with the activities of the Directors and agents of the Emigrant Aid Co.

[3] 'No more respect will be due [its acts and authority] . . . than a Legislature chosen by a tribe of wandering Arabs . . . on the prairies of that Territory.' New York *Tribune*, April 17, 1855.

and despise them and their authority,' exclaimed the *Herald of Freedom* in an editorial entitled 'MEETING OF THE MISSOURI-KANSAS LEGISLATURE,' almost a month before the lawmakers assembled.[1]

Reeder did not convene the Legislature for almost three months after he had approved the election of an overwhelming majority of it. When he did call it together, he directed it to meet at his town of Pawnee, which thus became the temporary capital of the Territory.[2] The members protested bitterly: Pawnee was a hundred and forty miles in the interior, they said, hard and expensive to reach and without accommodations, a mere town-site prospect, in fact.[3]

The Governor would not yield and the Legislature went with him to Pawnee and organized July 2, 1855. Reeder sent to the two Houses his official Message. It was long, pompous, turgid. Few new laws were needed, he said, since those in existence by virtue of Treaties and Acts of Congress were sufficient for most purposes; the Legislature could do as it pleased about slavery; the fell spirit of 'abolitionism' must not influence the law makers; they must erect counties, create offices, and provide the usual machinery of civil government; and, finally, they must choose a capital for the Territory — and Reeder described exactly such a place as Pawnee.

Not a word did the Governor say, however, about the illegality of the election, not an intimation did he give that fraud had been practised at the polls. Had the Legislature stayed at Pawnee, Reeder was committed to the support of it as a lawful body; and the history of Kansas and the United States might have been changed. But the Legislature would not stay at Pawnee. Instead it adjourned to Shawnee Mission. The members said that, at Pawnee, they had to camp out on the prairie

[1] *Herald of Freedom*, June 9, 1855. This paper urged the people to 'spurn everything in the shape of laws' passed by the Legislature, 'let the consequences be what they may.'

[2] Reeder had assured the 'Pawnee Town Association' that he would make Pawnee the capital of the Territory. He had bought a great deal of land near the town site. *Kansas:* Connelley, I, 411.

[3] *Statutes of Kansas*, 1855, Preface, vii. Pawnee consisted of three houses, two stone and one frame. Testimony C. R. Mobley, before Howard Committee, 278.

The majority of the Congressional Committee actually refused to hear testimony that this protest was made. *Ib.*, 428–9.

because there were no boarding houses, that the little stone building provided for them by the town-site promoters had neither doors nor windows, that food was scarce and bad, that cholera had broken out.

Reeder vetoed the first two bills passed by the Legislature at Shawnee Mission, on the ground that it was sitting at the wrong place. That body passed the rejected bills over the Governor's veto, and all members signed a petition to the President for Reeder's removal. Before it reached Washington, however, he had been dismissed by reason of his town-site speculation at Pawnee.[1]

Outrageous! said the anti-administration press — the alleged cause for the removal deceived no one. Reeder's 'bold and decided stand' against the invasion of Kansas by the Missouri 'brigands' was the real reason. He had been dismissed because he refused to do 'the dirty work of Slavery.' [2]

Through the United States Attorney for the Territory, the Legislature asked the Territorial Supreme Court to decide upon the legality of the transfer of the place of holding its sessions. The Justices handed down an elaborate opinion that the adjournment was regular and correct.[3]

[1] The President's Kansas Message. *Messages:* Richardson, v, 356. Pawnee 'was a proposed town site only, which he and others were attempting to locate unlawfully upon land within a military reservation,' etc.

Another charge against Reeder was that he, two Justices of the Territorial Supreme Court, and the U.S. District Attorney had made 'disreputable attempts to speculate' in certain lands belonging to half-breed Indians. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, G. W. Manypenny, in an official report to the President, denounced this land deal.

Reeder made heated and elaborate defence. He explained that this transaction was only a contract to purchase in case the President approved it. Reeder to Manypenny, *Missouri Republican*, clipped in the *Herald of Freedom*, May 5, 1855. And see *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, v, 225–34; U.S. Senate Documents, II (1855–56), 19–26.

Manypenny answered Reeder with calm but scathing condemnation of his land speculations. Manypenny to Reeder, April 27, 1855. MS. The Commissioner's letter never was published and Reeder made no reply to it.

The Pawnee town-site charge was never satisfactorily answered. Although Atchison and others, including several Democratic Senators, had long demanded Reeder's removal, he must have been dismissed for the Pawnee scheme, regardless of political pressure.

[2] *Rockford* (Ill.) *Republican*, July 4, 1855; *Rock River Democrat*, Aug. 14, 1855; New York *Times*, July 31, Aug. 4, 1855. Many Democratic papers also condemned Reeder's removal. *Ib.*, Aug. 1, 1855. But the *Times* objected to Reeder's having recognized the Legislature.

[3] *House Journal*, Kansas Legislature, 1855, Appendix, 1–9. Justice S. W. Johnston, who came from Ohio, dissented, but did not file a separate opinion. *Herald of Freedom*, Sept. 1, 1855.

Reeder, Robinson, the Emigrant Aid Company, and other champions of freedom, were not alone in keeping alert eye on the main chance. The Chief Justice, Samuel D. Lecompte, and other Territorial officials, all pro-slavery men, also seized upon opportunities to get rich. They, too, founded a town and called it Lecompton. It was not far from Lawrence, and these two places became the headquarters of the opposing parties in the conflict that speedily came.[1]

Indeed, the closer this dramatic period is looked into, the clearer it becomes that the economic forces had much to do with the turbulence which sprang up. 'If it was not for land and town lot speculations, there would have been no trouble in Kansas,' said a disgusted settler when the disturbances were under way.[2]

With judicial assurance that their proceedings were legal, the Legislature went on with its work as if nothing untoward had happened. The usual laws necessary for all new communities were enacted and a Territorial Government set up. The whole civil and criminal code of Missouri was adopted in bulk. This included the statutes on Slavery, which were like those of other slave States; but the Legislature added drastic provisions — to aid in the escape of a slave was made punishable by death, and denial of the right to hold slaves was made a felony.

Thus slavery was established in Kansas, and the philanthropic part of the Emigrant Aid Company's plans was, for the moment, blasted. Also its financial prospects were hurt. The Legislature chose Lecompton as the permanent capital of the Territory. That meant that most of the money raised by taxation and all appropriations by Congress, would be spent on public buildings and improvements at this new seat of Government.[3] Lawrence, in the same vicinity, would be injured.

[1] 'Political Warfare in Early Kansas:' Wilbur Cortez Abbott, in *Journal American History*, III, 629–30. The contests over 'the peripatetic capital . . . were dictated chiefly by the activities of rival town-site companies.'

[2] *St. Clair* (Ill.) *Tribune*, May 31, 1856. 'According to this man's representations there exists really as much disturbance and "shooting of one another" — as he expressed it — about land claims, as about the free State question.'

'Occasional skirmishes still occur, but they are in general quarrels about "claims."' Kansas Correspondence, New York *Times*, June 10, in issue July 3, 1855.

[3] Abbott, *Journal American History*, III, 629–30.

From the instant that Reeder issued certificates to the majority of the Legislature Robinson determined to resist it. At Lawrence there was fighting talk against the 'bogus' Legislature; they would obey no laws passed by it, recognize no government created by it.[1] Supporters of the Legislature, among whom were all pro-slavery leaders, retorted that such talk could come only from outlaws — they must be put down, by force if necessary.

Stringfellow was enraged. A convention of pro-slavery men of western Missouri at Lexington, issued an address to the country. The charge was repeated that several States had incorporated 'large moneyed associations to *abolitionize Kansas*' and adjacent States. 'We do not hold it necessary . . . to wait until the torch is applied to our dwellings, or the knife to our throats, before we take measures for our security and the security of our firesides.' If Massachusetts could send an army to Kansas any State could send an army anywhere.[2]

Even before the Legislature met, the Free State men held meeting after meeting. They said as hard things about the other side as it said about them. 'In reply to the threats of war so frequently made in our neighboring State, our answer is, WE ARE READY,' ran one resolution.[3] A political party called the Free State Party was formed, a 'Central State Committee' was appointed, more military companies were organized.[4]

The North was ringing with alarming stories from Kansas.

[1] Testimony Dr. Wood and others. *Howard Committee.*

[2] Lexington Address, July, 1855, as quoted by Douglas in Senate speech, March, 1856. *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 288.

[3] These resolutions were published in full in the *Illinois Journal*, July 18, 1855. Capitals those of original resolutions. *Herald of Freedom*, June 30, 1855.

[4] 'Our people have now formed themselves into four military companies. . . . We want *arms*.' Robinson to Thayer, April, 1855; *Life and Public Services of George Luther Stearns:* Frank Preston Stearns, 112–3.

On July 4, 1855, two of these companies paraded about Lawrence. 'Two organized military companies in uniform, and a large number of volunteers, were marching and countermarching. . . . Flags were floating, guns sounding,' etc. *Herald of Freedom*, July 7, 1855.

In his 4th of July oration, Robinson exclaimed: 'Let every man acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and, knowing, dares maintain them.' *Ib.*

Sumner was then making his tour of the South, and at St. Louis was warned not to go to Kansas. The *Herald of Freedom*, Aug. 11, 1855, ridiculed such warning, saying that it was 'perfectly safe' for Sumner or any one to come to Kansas.

The Republican Party was growing in aggressiveness and strength. In this situation, Lincoln, in the middle of August, 1855, wrote two important letters. In one, to George Robertson, of Kentucky, he said in effect that slavery could not be abolished without war. 'Experience has demonstrated, I think, that there is no peaceful extinction of slavery in prospect for us.' The Tsar of Russia would abdicate and free his serfs sooner than American masters would voluntarily give up their slaves, he prophesied. 'Our political problem now is, "Can we as a nation continue together permanently — forever — half slave and half free?" The problem is too mighty for me — may God, in his mercy, superintend the solution.' [1]

A confidential letter to Speed at about the same time is still more explicit. Speed had written Lincoln on the political situation and asked the views of his old friend. Belatedly, Lincoln gave them. Speed had said that, while on abstract principle slavery was wrong, he would rather see the Union dissolved than yield his legal right to his slaves, especially at the demand of those who were not themselves interested. Nobody denied that right, answered Lincoln; certainly he did not. 'I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down and caught and carried back to their stripes and unrequited toil; but I bite my lips and keep quiet.'

Lincoln reminded Speed of their steamboat trip together in 1841 when shackled slaves were on board, and he declared that the sight 'was a continued torment' to him.[2] Lincoln saw something of the kind, he said, every time he touched the Ohio or any other slave border. Surely he argued, he had an interest in anything that made him miserable all the time.

Speed had said that while he would hang the Missouri leaders of the Kansas outrages, yet if that Territory fairly voted for slavery she must be admitted or the Union dissolved; but, retorted Lincoln, 'how if she votes herself a slave State unfairly? . . . must she still be admitted, or the Union dissolved?' A fair decision of the slavery question in Kansas was impossible under

[1] Lincoln to Robertson, Aug. 15, 1855. *Works*, II, 278–81.

[2] Compare with Lincoln's letter to Mary Speed, written immediately after this journey; and with Lincoln's part in the Matson case. Vol. I, 321, 392.

the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Lincoln asserted; for, 'it was conceived in violence,' is maintained in violence, and is being executed in violence. Why complain of the manner in which that law was being carried out, since it was 'being executed in the precise way which was intended from the first.'

See what 'that beautiful [Kansas] Legislature' had done already! — enacted a law to hang a man merely for telling a negro of his legal rights! Through violence and fraud Kansas probably would form a slave Constitution and, with it, ask admission to the Union, and Lincoln would oppose admission, he declared. Still, if Kansas was admitted with slavery, he would not 'on that account attempt to dissolve the Union.'

The opponents of Kansas as a slave State were likely to be beaten because 'party necessity' would swing most Democrats to the support of any party measure, said Lincoln. That was how Douglas had induced the Democratic majority in the Illinois Legislature to endorse the Kansas-Nebraska bill. That, too, was the method by which slave-breeders and slave-traders made themselves the absolute 'masters' of good men like Speed.[1]

After its formal organization, the Free State Party of Kansas held several conventions. Clad in blue woollen shirts, wearing rough boots and slouched hats, their beards unkempt, the delegates discussed learnedly their duties and their rights.[2] All were defiant of the Legislature and the Territorial Government. One convention at Lawrence, on August 14, 1855, resolved that, inspired by the spirit of 'resistance to tyrants,' the members pledged '"our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honors" to a resistance to its [Territorial Government's] authority.'

Another convention at Big Springs, a place of half a dozen 'shake-cabins and log-huts,'[3] was notable. There Reeder, in a speech that bristled with bayonets, adjured the settlers in Halleck's words to

> 'Strike — for our altars and our fires;
> Strike — for the green graves of our sires;
> God and our native land!'

The sentiment elicited cheers and the orator was unanimously

[1] Lincoln to Speed, Aug. 24, 1855. *Works*, II, 281–7.
[2] Richardson, 43–4. [3] Spring, 64.

nominated for Delegate in Congress. Another belligerent expression in a wrathful resolution aroused even more enthusiasm: if peaceable opposition to the laws should fail, '*we will resist them to the bloody issue.*' Still another pronouncement was that the Free State Party would allow no free negroes in Kansas. Particular attention was paid to the military side of the Party's program, and a call was sent out for more arms.

The *Herald of Freedom* became almost as bellicose as the *Squatter Sovereign:* 'Come one, come all, slaveocrats and nullifiers; we have rifles enough, and bullets enough, to send you all to your (and Judas's) "own place." "If you're coming, why don't you come along?"' [1]

The Big Springs Convention was dominated by one of the strangest characters in American history, James H. Lane of Indiana. He was to have frequent and picturesque contact with Lincoln in the years swiftly approaching, and he now became the leading figure in Kansas affairs. Lane was tall and lank, his long face deeply lined, cheeks sunken, black hair thick and tousled, dark eyes brooding and hypnotic. His clothes were poor and neglected, and, in all weathers throughout all seasons, he wore an old, moth-eaten, black bearskin overcoat. Lane had been Lieutenant Governor of Indiana, a gallant and skilful Colonel in the Mexican War, a Representative in Congress where he voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Act, thus wrecking his political fortunes in his District. The Indiana courts had refused to grant Lane a divorce from his wife. Soon after he arrived in Kansas he applied to the Legislature for marital release, but was again denied.

Then he turned upon that unreasonable body. After vainly

[1] As quoted in Stephens's speech in House, June 28, 1856. *Cong. Globe,* 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 723–9. *Herald of Freedom,* May 5, 1855, quoted Corwin on the Mexican War: 'Welcome the invaders to Kansas "with bloody hands and to hospitable graves,"' etc.

The New York *Tribune,* Sept. 8, 1855, printed a long and savage editorial from the *Squatter Sovereign* of Aug. 28: 'Emigrant Aid Societies spend their millions and billions . . . *yet we will continue to tar and feather, drown, lynch and hang, every white livered Abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil. . . . We confidently hope that the last national Congress may meet in Washington on the first Monday in December next.* . . . Never again will the Southern States . . . suffer dictation at the hands of a set of negro-stealers. . . . The South [has] had *sufficient cause to secede during every twelve months for the past ten years.*' Italics *Tribune's.*

trying to organize a 'National Democratic Party' in Kansas, he belatedly joined the Free State Party and speedily became the leader of it. He was immoral and brave, cunning and eloquent, audacious and resourceful. His skill in intrigue was uncanny and his power over audiences like magic. In short Lane was endowed with a kind of mad genius. His insanity and suicide just after the end of the Civil War were but the natural outcome of his mental and nervous condition for a score of years.

Directed by Lane and Robinson, another convention of the Free State Party at Topeka,[1] October 23, adopted a Free State constitution and provided for Free State Party elections of a legislature, State officers, and a Representative in Congress. This constitution prohibited slavery; but, if a majority at an election to ratify the constitution so decided, free negroes were to be excluded from the new State. In due course a prodigious majority of the Free State Party voted for this clause.[2]

One of the members of the Free State Constitutional Convention was Delahay. He gave Alabama as the place from which he had come to Kansas. Obviously the Free State men were not wholly unfamiliar with the wiles of politics. It looked better for Delahay to appear to have come from a slave State. But he vigorously opposed the project of setting up an independent State government — only Congress could abolish the Legislature which had been created under its authority, he said. It was Lincoln who spoke thus — the idea was his, though the voice was that of Delahay.[3]

[1] Richardson, 43–4. Even two years later, 1857, Topeka was only a hamlet of fifteen or twenty houses on a green prairie. *Ib.*, 41.

[2] *John Brown:* Oswald Garrison Villard, 105.

'Many who are known as Free State men are not Anti-Slavery in our Northern acceptation of the word. They are more properly negro haters, who vote Free State to keep negroes out, free or slave; one-half of them would go for Slavery if negroes are to be allowed here at all.' Extracts from private letter from a 'well informed citizen of Kansas' to a friend in New York in the New York *Tribune*, July 13, 1855; and see Thayer, 89–90.

[3] *Report Senate Committee*, No. 34, March 12, 1856. 'The gentleman from Lawrence [Col. Lane] has assured . . . in advocating an immediate State organization, . . . that neither government nor local law exists in this Territory. Sir, I must dissent . . . I deny that a Territorial government can be legally abolished by the election of another government. I hold . . . that the power of a Territorial government ceases only by the enactment of the body which created it; in other words, that the Government and laws of Kansas can be abolished by Congress alone.'

Delahay said that he was against 'any overt act of rebellion.' But the radicals had

Supporters of the established Government held a counter meeting. It was made up of all pro-slavery men, and several Free State men who balked at the radical action of the Free State Party.[1] The new Governor, Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, presided. He had had a career of some note. He had been a successful lawyer, twice Governor of Ohio, Minister to Mexico, Representative in Congress. Shannon was a tall, thin, blue-eyed man, of slow speech, grave demeanor, deliberate movement. Until he was sent to Kansas he had borne a good reputation. Immediately upon the tender of the Kansas governorship to Shannon, Greeley attacked him — he was 'to act as the bill-signing automaton for the Atchison and Stringfellow ruffians.'[2]

This convention also formed a party to oppose the Free State Party, and called it the Law and Order Party. On a Committee to prepare and issue an Address to the country, were six men from free States and four from slave States. One of the members was John Calhoun of Springfield, Lincoln's old-time friend, employer, and mentor in the New Salem days. Calhoun had just been appointed Surveyor General of the Territory.

The Law and Order Party's resolutions denounced the conduct of the Free State Party as 'revolutionary' and 'treasonable,' said that law and order were the first essentials under any form of government, called on all good citizens, regardless of their views on slavery, to support the Government, and branded as false the stories printed about Kansas in 'abolition' papers.

Thus was the issue formally joined between the Law and Order Party and the Free State Party — the latter determined, at all hazards, to repudiate the laws and defy the Government of the Territory; the former equally resolved to enforce the laws and maintain the Government. It was 'a fearful issue,' said the New York *Times;* 'blood must be shed on the ground of Kansas.'[3]

their way and the machinery was set in motion to create a separate State government in direct antagonism to the existing Government.

[1] Testimony Dr. John P. Wood, *Howard Committee,* 659–60. 'There were Free State men in Lawrence who opposed this course [of the Free State Party], and oppose it yet [June 2, 1856]. I myself co-operated with the free-State party until they took these revolutionary steps, and then I left them.'

[2] New York *Tribune,* Aug. 16, 1855.

[3] Sept. 22, 1855.

Back of all was the slavery question; but, for a time, it did not wholly dominate the situation, since many Free State men were members of the Law and Order Party. Moreover, there was then no reasonable probability that slavery would take deep root, as an impartial journalist who was in Kansas at the time testifies: 'In the entire Territory, there were not a hundred bondsmen.' [1]

The clash came as naturally and suddenly as a thunder-storm on a sultry day. A heavily armed band of Free State men rescued from the Sheriff of Douglas County a fellow partisan whom that officer had arrested on a peace warrant sworn out by a pro-slavery settler, and with a posse was taking to the County seat. In wild alarm the Sheriff, Samuel J. Jones, a violent pro-slavery man, asked the Governor to send the militia to his aid; 'open rebellion already having commenced' in Kansas, Jones wrote. Some twelve hundred men answered Shannon's call, but most of them came from Missouri. Thus began the investment of Lawrence, where those who had rescued the prisoner had taken him. Jones had also secured warrants for all whom he knew among his assailants.

In Lawrence a 'Committee of Safety' prepared for defence. The men wanted by the Sheriff were hurried out of town. Trenches were dug, breast-works thrown up, a bastion built for a cannon sent from the East. The gun was brought from Kansas City [2] and mounted while the militia were closing in. Hundreds of Free State men from scattered settlements hastened to join their comrades in Lawrence. Nearly all had Sharp's rifles, and constantly Lane drilled them.

The militia camped hard by, on the Wakarusa River. They were better supplied with whisky than with arms, and were eager for the fray. But the Free State men had whisky too, and, as we shall now see, used it with more effect. As to military equipment and discipline, they could easily have beaten their assailants, assuming both sides to have been equally brave.

So grave did matters look, that the Governor came and strove

[1] Richardson, 42–3. The anti-administration press scorned the issue of 'law and order' as a pretext, and insisted that the real question was the fastening of slavery on Kansas by the Missouri invasion. New York *Times*, Feb. 22, 1856.

[2] Then 'a straggling village of scarcely a thousand inhabitants.' Eldridge, 12.

to pacify the belligerents. Finally he patched up a truce with the Free State men and ordered the militia to disband. This 'Treaty of Peace,' as it was pompously called, was signed by Lane and Robinson on behalf of the 'citizens of the Territory,' on the one side, and by the Governor on the other. In this document all three men lied with hearty good will. Lane and Robinson denied all knowledge of any organization to resist the laws and declared that Free State men were and always had been willing to help execute them; Shannon affirmed that he had not asked and would not ask outsiders to interfere in the Government of Kansas. Express disavowal was made of opinion as to the legality of the Legislature.[1]

So, at the Free State Hotel, a 'grand peace party' was given, which lasted all night. Many of the 'invaders' including Sheriff Jones were present, a band played, speeches were made, there was much conviviality, and the famous 'Wakarusa War' was over.[2]

The trouble had not been settled, however, without guile and the use of unseemly methods by the champions of freedom. Whisky flowed for the righteous as well as for the wicked, and to more purpose, and deception was as effective as the display of Sharp's rifles. The story was told by the frankest of the defenders.

Just before the truce an old man with his four sons had driven into Lawrence. Their wagon was loaded with more rifles than they needed themselves, and they distributed the excess among those not yet supplied. The father was over six feet tall, his face grim and aggressive, out-thrust chin closely shaven. His gray eyes were steady, cold, emotionless. A heavy shock of graying hair was thrown back from a low, hard brow. His name was John Brown, and he lived with his sons at a settlement called Osawatomie.

[1] Shannon actually gave a commission to Robinson and Lane as 'commanders of the enrolled citizens at Lawrence,' authorizing them to use the 'force under your command . . . as in your judgment shall best secure' peace and order. *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 12, 1856.

[2] In its account of the 'Wakarusa War,' the *Herald of Freedom*, Dec. 15, 1855, said: 'Eleven full companies of fifty-four each were duly registered, . . . besides the cavalry and artillery companies, and numberless persons who were not enrolled, but held themselves in readiness to fight where they could be most effective,' etc. Robinson made a speech to his 'FELLOW SOLDIERS.'

When the 'Treaty' was read to the crowd, Brown mounted a dry-goods box and denounced it as a shifty device — only the shedding of blood could win the Free State cause, he said. His harangue fell on deaf ears. Disgusted with both sides, Brown wrote to his wife an account of the affair.

When Shannon came into Lawrence to arrange a peaceable settlement, Brown related, the Free State leaders 'took advantage of his Cowardice, and Folly; and by means of that and the free use of Whiskey; and some Trickery; succeeded in getting a written arrangement with him much to their own liking.... He gave up all pretension of further attempt to enforce the enactments of the Bogus Legislature, and retired subject to the derision and scoffs of the Free State men (into whose hands he had committed the welfare and protection of Kansas); and to the pity of some; and the curses of others of the invading force. ... Free State men have only hereafter to retain the footing they have gained; *and Kansas is free.*' [1]

The Free State Party ignored the regular elections designated by the Legislature, and held elections of their own. Except at one place where a pro-slavery man was wounded and a Free State man killed, the Law and Order Party and pro-slavery men did little more than to sneer at the Free State elections as the futile nonsense of lawless men. The person chosen as the Free State Representative in Congress was Delahay.[2]

The winter of 1855–56 was one of the hardest ever known in Kansas. It began early and lasted until March. Often the thermometer was far below zero. Suffering was widespread and intense. For a while conflict was suspended; but Sheriff Jones and his Missouri supporters were preparing to serve his hitherto futile warrants. Lane and Robinson admitted in writing that they had agreed in the 'Treaty' to help execute the laws; but they sent six or seven of the most effective members of the Free State Party on a tour of the North to get money and arms.[3] The renewal of strife was near at hand.

[1] Brown to wife and children, Osawatomie, K.T., Dec. 16, 1855. Villard, 119. Italics Brown's.

[2] At the voting on the Topeka Constitution, at Leavenworth, Dec. 15, 1855, pro-slavery men destroyed the office of Delahay's paper. Wilder, 90.

[3] The order was for these emissaries, headed by Lane, 'to visit several States of the

To the end of the winter of 1855–56, only two men had been killed in political collisions; but, all over the North, the anti-administration press grew fiercer in the cause of Free Kansas, and ever more vituperative of the Border Ruffians. Kansas Aid Societies multiplied. Scarcely a town was without an organization to help sufferers in that Territory. And assistance was sorely needed, for the privations of the settlers on the desolate plains during that terrible winter were extreme. But while clothes and provisions were the requisites, the most stirring appeals were for rifles and cash.

In Springfield, Herndon was fiercely ardent, as usual. He and other radicals were, he tells us, 'almost revolutionary,' and were for anything 'however desperate, to promote and defend the cause of freedom.' The Abolitionists took the lead. They wanted to fight. Two of the men sent from Kansas to stir up the North held a meeting at the Illinois capital. Lincoln was there and, after the agitators had aroused the passions of the crowd, he was urged to speak. He did. Nothing more characteristic ever fell from his lips:

Be more moderate, he said; cast out bitterness. Avoid extreme measures; use no inflammatory language — such things might cause bloodshed. Do not think of resorting to the bullet — 'you can better succeed with the ballot.' Moral influence, rather than force, was the true method of righting wrong and promoting good. 'Let there be peace. Revolutionize through the ballot box,' and thus restore the Government to the love of the people by making it again stand for liberty and justice. But any attempt 'to resist the laws of Kansas by force is criminal and wicked.' Thus Lincoln cooled the heated assemblage; but he gave his share to the fund being raised.[1]

Union, to ask appropriations of munitions of war, and means of defense of the citizens of Kansas.' The reason to be given for this action was that Southern States had appropriated money 'for carrying war into Kansas.' This report was generally believed and continued to be credited for more than a generation.

[1] Herndon, II, 379–80. The *State Register*, Feb. 12, 1856, thus made note of this meeting: 'Two individuals, named Conway and Smith, held forth upon the "wrongs of Kansas." From beginning to end the remarks of these two men were tissues of misrepresentation, exaggeration and falsehood, doled out in model abolition style.' They said that their mission was to collect money and arms for the Free State Party, 'a faction,' commented the Democratic organ, 'that stands in open opposition to the laws.'

The *State Journal*, however, bitterly denounced the sending of arms to Kansas. Beecher had preached his notorious sermon, inciting 'the friends of freedom' everywhere to supply the settlers with Sharp's rifles — one of them would have more moral influence over slave-holders than 'a hundred Bibles,' he said.[1] Throughout the North some preachers had followed Beecher's example and many pulpits had become rostrums for war talk. Thereafter Sharp's rifles were called 'Beecher's Bibles.'

Lincoln deplored these appeals to force. In a scathing editorial the *State Journal* lashed those ministers who indulged in such talk. To give 'death dealing weapons into the hands of the young recruits raised for Kansas,' was foolish and wicked. Yet such a course was urged in most meetings held to help the emigrants. Even clergymen were proclaiming 'the "religion" of the thing, so that thus doubly armed, the young zealot is ushered into Kansas taught to regard all who differ with him as lawful game, and fully equipped to bring them down on the slightest provocation.' [2]

Throughout the winter the situation in Kansas grew worse. After the Free State Party elected its own legislature, the *Squatter Sovereign* declared that the Abolitionists must be soundly thrashed, or they would overturn the Government. The *Kickapoo Ranger* announced that the Abolitionists had again begun war and must be driven from the Territory. Atchison urged his followers to prepare for another invasion — the Free State Legislature was soon to meet and a Free State Government to be set up.

[1] *New York Evening Post* as quoted in Wilder, 109.

[2] *Illinois State Journal*, April 4, 1856. The *Journal* quoted, with emphatic approval, a vitriolic editorial attack on Beecher for his 'Sharp's rifles sermon,' in the *Buffalo* (N.Y.) *Commercial*. After showing the wrong and folly of exhortations from the pulpit to fight and kill, the *Commercial* said:

'The ruling passion of Henry Ward Beecher is a love of notoriety. . . . He prefers the plaudits of a mob to the calm approval of wise, Christian men. . . . He . . . preaches in a "don't-care-a-damn" style of oratory. . . . With him the pulpit is an arena for the exhibition of profane and daring wit. . . . He loves to say things which will be repeated with gusto in bar rooms and drinking saloons, and produce the impression among those who frequent such places, that he is one of them in a black coat, and that he "could an' he would" swear a more round, telling, "satisfactory" oath than the most eloquently profane among them.'

Robinson and Lane wrote to the President asking for United States troops to save Kansas from an 'overwhelming force' which was about to sweep over the Territory with fire and sword; but Shannon had gone to Washington and told Pierce what he knew and thought. The President promptly sent to Congress his famous Kansas message, of which we shall presently make brief note. All the power of the National Government would be used, said Pierce, to uphold law and maintain order.

Then came a proclamation to the same effect. The President ordered those who were combining to resist established authority to disperse; and he warned all alike who planned insurrection within Kansas, or aggressive intrusion from without, that both would be opposed by the militia and by Federal troops.[1] The Secretary of State, William L. Marcy of New York, authorized Shannon to call upon these forces to suppress 'insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the laws.'

So when the Free State Legislature met, 'Governor' Robinson, in his message, urged a pacific course; so long as they had the 'sanction' of Congress, even the Territorial laws and Government must not be resisted. In accordance with this change of policy, the provisional lawmakers merely elected Lane and Reeder to the national Senate, memorialized Congress to admit Kansas under the Free State constitution, passed a few laws of no moment, which were not to be effective until Congress recognized the Free State Government, and adjourned until July 4, 1856.

Thus, with charges of 'fraud' and counter charges of 'treason,' came the collision that brought on guerilla warfare with all its fell results to the nation. Sheriff Jones was knocked down in Lawrence while trying to make an arrest. He went for military help, returned with a small squad of United States

[1] Proclamation of Feb. 11, 1856. This State paper condemned equally the preparations in Missouri for an 'armed intervention in the affairs' of Kansas, and the raising of money and buying of rifles in 'remote States . . . for the same purpose.' If 'the fury of faction or fanaticism' anywhere, should bring about war in Kansas, 'it shall be between lawless violence on one side and conservative order on the other, wielded by the legal authority of the General Government.' The Proclamation was drawn by Marcy. *Messages:* Richardson, v, 390–1.

soldiers, served several warrants, and was shot and seriously wounded by a Free State man. Robinson and the Free State citizens formally 'condemned' the shooting — but the assailant was permitted to escape. Jones, who was at first thought to be fatally hurt, recovered; but pro-slavery men and their newspapers demanded blood — the Abolitionists must be 'exterminated,' cried Stringfellow.

The United States District Court was in session at Lecompton. Under instructions from Judge Samuel D. Lecompte, the Grand Jury indicted several leaders of the Free State Party for 'constructive treason.' Among them were Robinson, Lane, and Reeder. Lane and others were in the Northern States arousing great audiences to fury. Reeder escaped in disguise, and Robinson, who had learned from a Free State member of the Grand Jury that indictments would be returned, tried to get away, too. At Lexington, Missouri, he was taken from a steamboat, and held there until a requisition from Governor Shannon came, when he was delivered to the Territorial authorities. In three or four months Robinson was released on bond, went East and added his voice to that of other Republican orators from Kansas in the campaign which we are soon to review.[1]

The *Herald of Freedom* had been quite as violent against the 'bogus' Legislature and Government, as the *Squatter Sovereign* was against the Free State Legislature and Government. The Grand Jury at Lecompton returned a presentment against the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State* as nuisances, and against the Free State Hotel at Lawrence, because it had been built as a fortress. When the Grand Jury acted, writs were issued by the Court to destroy the two newspapers and the hotel.[2]

Not long before the Free State leaders were indicted, a picturesque company of young men arrived in western Missouri. They came chiefly from Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina and numbered about four hundred. They were commanded by 'Major' Jefferson Buford, a lawyer of Eufaula, Alabama, who paid out of his own pocket a large part of the expenses of the

[1] For this 'false imprisonment,' Robinson put in a claim for $10,000 before the Kansas Claim Commission as soon as the Free State forces prevailed. *Appeal to the Record:* Connelley, 24.

[2] Villard, 142–3; Wilder, 119–21.

expedition, the remainder coming from several private donations.[1]

The men brought no rifles — instead the Baptist Church at Montgomery had given them Bibles on their departure. They carried two banners inscribed 'The Supremacy of the White Race,' and 'Kansas the Outpost;' and some wore badges bearing the words 'Alabama for Kansas: Bibles not Rifles.'[2] Two or three other groups, each of twenty or thirty men, also came from the South. One little company from Charleston was composed mostly of clerks, induced to go on the adventure by a few fire-eating politicians; some of these boys expected to hunt buffalo.[3]

At a pro-slavery reception at Fort Leavenworth several of these young men made speeches. They said that they came as pioneers to uphold the laws; that the territories were common property; 'keep the constitution and laws on our side and we can put to flight a host of Abolitionists with their Sharp's rifles.'[4]

[1] Buford paid $10,000 and other contributors $14,000. Channing, VI, 164–5, and authorities cited. Prof. Channing's account is the best short statement of Southern interest in Kansas.

[2] For a thorough treatment of this incident, see 'The Buford Expedition to Kansas:' Walter L. Fleming, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, VI, 38–48.

'It was intended that the Buford party should go armed, but in March [1856] Major Buford announced that in deference to the President's proclamation, and in consonance with the true design of the expedition, it would go unarmed. . . .

'The battalion attended divine service on Sunday at the Baptist Church. After the sermon the pastor, Rev. I. T. Tichenor, proposed that, since some ministers at the North had been raising money to equip emigrants with Sharp's rifles, they present each man of Buford's battalion with a more powerful weapon — the Bible.'

Money for the Bibles was subscribed and at a church celebration next day 'the Rev. Dorman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, offered up a prayer asking the blessings of heaven for Buford and his men.' *Ib.*, 41–2.

A correspondent of the New York *Tribune* stated that on the journey from St. Louis the Bibles were thrown away, and when the company reached Kansas it had arms. New York *Tribune*, May 13, 1856; Villard, 137.

[3] 'Dr. Albert Morall: Pro-Slavery soldier in Kansas. Statement and Autobiography,' *Kansas Hist. Coll.*, XIV, 126–42. Dr. Morall stayed in Kansas after the guerilla fighting ended, returned to South Carolina at the outbreak of the Civil War to enlist as a Confederate Soldier, and, when the War was over, went back to Kansas where he spent the rest of his life.

[4] *Leavenworth Herald*, April 26, 1856.

'I have supposed that the most violent of the Pro-Slavery party have been hired to come here, as they are from the South, young men, broken-down lawyers, and sons of cotton-planters.' Some companies 'with Atchison in Missouri, and some other Missourians, form the head and front of all the violent proceedings which have taken place here. The defeated politicians above spoken of are from the North, and are not the bowie-

But all were for slavery, almost passionately so. In short, these young Southerners were, in purpose and sincerity, much like the settlers sent to Kansas by the Emigrant Aid Societies — one group was determined to make the Territory a free State, the other to make it a slave State; and the members of each group frankly said so. Buford's men were scattered over the Territory, presumably to take up claims and become pro-slavery citizens and voters; but they and other Southern companies were brought together as part of the posse of the United States Marshal to serve warrants against those indicted for treason.

Thus was the stage set for 'the sack of Lawrence,' an event that became one of the most dramatic themes for Republican papers and stump speakers throughout the blazing Presidential campaign of 1856.

On May 21, that village was surrounded by the Marshal's posse. It numbered about eight hundred men. Many were from Missouri. Among them was Atchison, in command of a company of riflemen. Another band, called the 'Red Shirts,' was composed of young men from Virginia. Jones, too, was there with his still unserved writs. The little army brought five cannon, and carried a red flag on which was inscribed 'Southern Rights'

> 'Let Yankees tremble, abolitionists fall,
> Our motto is, Give Southern rights to all.'

Another banner was of black cotton cloth, with a serpent in the center and above it 'South Carolina Minute Men.'

Taking with them their Sharp's rifles, the fighting men of Lawrence had left town, because the feeble temporary 'Committee of Safety' had decided on a policy of non-resistance. So without opposition, two arrests were made and Jones proceeded to demand whatever arms were in the place, and also to destroy the newspapers and the hotel.

Major Buford and other officers protested; they were there to uphold law, not to violate it; to protect property not to destroy it. Jones would not listen. Neither would the men. All liquor

knife bullies you hear so much of. . . . The quickest way of putting this question at rest is to meet them with their own weapons,' etc. From private letter by a citizen of Kansas to a New York friend, in New York *Tribune*, July 13, 1855.

in the Free State Hotel had been taken and what followed can only be explained on the ground that the Sheriff's posse were drunk. What they did justified the tales about the Border Ruffians that had been appearing for more than a year.

Jones demanded and received the surrender of the Free State armament. Four small cannon and one twelve-pound howitzer were given up. But few Sharp's rifles could be found. The Sheriff sent two companies to each of the newspaper offices, the presses were broken and thrown in the street, the type flung into the river. The stout walls of the hotel were proof against some thirty cannon shot, and even the explosion of kegs of powder placed within; so the building was set on fire.[1]

For these things there was not the least warrant of law. In sheer wantonness, the posse, now out of all control, pillaged private houses. The inhabitants, mostly women and children, were terrified. No resistance was made. Finally some one applied the torch to Robinson's house and it, too, was burnt.[2] Nobody was hurt in fighting, however, though two young Free State men had been killed some distance from Lawrence the night before; and, by accident, due to their own negligence, one of the posse was killed and two wounded while the hotel was burning and the looting going on.[3] But the Emigrant Aid Com-

[1] *Lecompton Union*, May 24, clipped in New York *Tribune*, June 7, 1856. The headlines of the *Union* article were:

'LAWRENCE TAKEN!
GLORIOUS TRIUMPH OF THE LAW AND ORDER
PARTY OVER FANATICISM IN KANSAS.
FULL PARTICULARS.'

The New York *Tribune's* caption over that paper's reproduction of the *Union's* account was:

'THE SACK OF LAWRENCE.
OFFICIAL BULLETIN OF THE BORDER RUFFIANS.'

The story in the *Union* was written on the ground by one of the posse.

[2] Next year, Robinson put in a claim before the Kansas Claim Commissioner for $15,800 loss of house, furniture, etc. *Appeal to the Record:* Connelley, 23–4. Robinson's house was a small frame building fourteen by twenty feet and cost about $400.

[3] The charge of looting was stoutly denied by members of the Southern companies. Morall, 126. The *Lecompton Union, supra*, said:

'Before entering town, our commanders instructed each member of his company of the consequences befalling the violation of any private property. As far as we can learn, they attended strictly to these instructions. One act we regret to mention — the firing of Robinson's house. . . . It was a private residence and should have remained untouched.'

The evidence is conclusive, however, that the little town was pillaged.

pany lost heavily by the destruction of its hotel and its equipment.

Only by reading accounts in anti-Administration newspapers of the day, can any idea be had of the descriptions of 'the sack of Lawrence,' that were printed all over the North. Nor do these stories, taken by themselves, give more than a suggestion of their effect on the public mind; for they came on top of a long series of sensational tales which began to appear at least four months before the descent of the Missourians on Kansas, March 30, 1855.[1] It is hard to tell how much truth there was in them. Not all witnesses sustain them. 'I know of no one being treated unkindly who minds his own business,' testified John E. Ingalls, who went to Kansas from near Boston in 1854.[2]

When Congress convened in December, 1855, the troubles in Kansas were the principal subject of talk. But the President said nothing until he sent to Congress his Kansas Message. When it reached the House, that body became almost riotous.[3] In this document emphasis was laid on Reeder's delays, his endorsement of the election of the Legislature, his repeated recognitions of that body, his puerile excuse for breaking with it, his removal from office because of the Pawnee adventure.

At some length, the President related what had happened in

[1] The broad excuse for the action of the Law and Order Party, and especially for the attack on Lawrence was: 'Robinson & Co. . . . raised the crusading flag against all men opposed to them in sentiment. In their wake followed sub-employees, selected for the occasion; . . . the "Aid Society" hirelings of discharged convicts and abandoned desperadoes. . . . These are the characters we had to deal with. Finally the election [March 30, 1855] came off and the Pro-Slavery party defeated them; then the great cry of "Border Ruffian" went forth to the East, appealing for protection against the Missourians; it had the desired effect; men at the North and East suffered themselves to be duped and swindled into the support of this appeal.' *Lecompton Union*, in New York *Tribune*, June 7, 1856.

[2] *Howard Committee*, 841–4. Ingalls accompanied an Emigrant Aid Co. party, but would not join it. He was the uncle of the well-known John J. Ingalls, Republican Senator from Kansas from 1873 to 1891.

In 1857 a book by an Englishman, Thomas H. Gladstone, a correspondent of the London *Times*, was published which greatly strengthened the view of the Border Ruffians that prevailed throughout the North. A more partisan or inaccurate volume could not have been written. Gladstone saw some of the drunken men who had sacked Lawrence — 'drunken, bellowing, blood-thirsty demons,' etc. Ignorant of the American frontier, he had no sympathy with frontier conditions, and he gave out the idea that the riotous crowd he described was typical of the border counties and the South. *The Englishman in Kansas*, 41.

[3] New York *Times*, Jan. 26, 1856.

Kansas. Conditions had become so bad, he said, that Congress should provide for the taking of a census and the election of a Constitutional Convention so that the Territory could be prepared for admission 'through regular and lawful means.' [1]

It is hard to see what else the President could have said. But in Congress and throughout the North he was held up to scorn as the mere puppet of the Slave Power which spoke through his wooden lips — the ventriloquism was so clumsy that all could see the trick, said the anti-administration press.

The struggle became one of party alone. 'I come before the Senate to-day as a Republican, or, as some prefer to call me, a Black Republican,' defiantly exclaimed Wade; 'the free State population [of Kansas] have been conquered and subdued by the border ruffians.' [2] Debate was earnest and harsh. Why, asked Toombs, did not Governor Reeder try to stop the Missouri invasion? Why, at the very least, did he not report it to the President? Reeder had found nothing wrong with the Legislature until it adjourned from his town of Pawnee to somebody else's town. The whole matter was being used by partisans, solely to inflame sectional hatred upon which alone they thrived. The outcome might be civil war; the North would fight and so would the South; but those who would set good men to cutting one another's throats would, themselves, keep out of danger.[3]

From the Committee on Territories Douglas brought in a comprehensive report on Kansas affairs.[4] It was an elaborate argument for the Law and Order Party. Blame for starting the trouble was laid on the Emigrant Aid Company. While this document was fiercely partisan, it stated the facts. But it was ferociously assailed as a 'sophistical' defence of the Slave Power. Senator Jacob Collamer of Vermont submitted a minority report. It was a defence of the Emigrant Aid Company and of all that the Free State Party had done. This paper was hailed as the fearless voice of righteousness and truth.

Many bills on Kansas were presented in both Houses. Douglas offered one in accordance with the President's message.

[1] *Messages:* Richardson, v, 352–60. Jan. 24, 1856.

[2] *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 749, 756.

[3] *Ib.*, 115–8, Feb. 28, 1856.

[4] *Senate Committee Report*, No. 34, March 12, 1856.

Toombs proposed a better bill, the best, indeed, that was devised: let a strictly non-partisan commission composed of men of high character go to Kansas, take a census, apportion the Territory, provide for an election on November 4, 1856, of delegates to a Constitutional Convention — only those who had lived in the Territory for at least three months to be allowed to vote. On December 1, 1856, the members thus elected were to convene and form a State government.

The measure, however, came from a Southern Senator. So it was bitterly attacked and was beaten in the House by a party vote. That body then passed a bill of its own providing for the election of a new Territorial legislature, the dismissal of criminal prosecutions for offences against Territorial laws and the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. It was a purely partisan manœuvre; everyone knew that it could not pass the Senate or be signed by the President. But the Presidential campaign was at hand and the Dunn bill, as it was called, stated the position of the Republican Party.

While House and Senate were struggling with the problem and sheer partisanship was blocking any action, Lane came to Washington with what he said was the Free State Constitution and got Cass to present it to the Senate. It was a tattered document. Lane had scratched out sentences, interlined others, and deleted entirely the clause excluding slaves and free negroes. Moreover he, himself, had signed to the instrument the names, of the members of the Free State Constitutional Convention.

Douglas, to whose Committee the paper was referred, pointed out these facts and branded the so-called Constitution as a forgery.[1] Of course the Senate ignored it. Indeed, the Republicans hardly tried to defend it.[2] Seward offered a bill for the admission of Kansas under the Free State Constitution. He knew that it would not pass, but it was good party strategy.

So nothing was done to straighten out the tangled affairs of Kansas. Instead, the Republican majority in the House made

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 384, April 14, 1856.

[2] *Ib.*, Pt. 1, 861. Seward disavowed all knowledge of the memorial. After talking with Lane, Cass came into the Senate and declared that he thought it a fraud.

Lane wanted to fight a duel with Douglas, who dismissed him with a contemptuous rebuke. Spring, 76–7.

another partisan move. A Committee was appointed to investigate what had happened in that faction-wracked Territory. These investigators were John Sherman of Ohio and William A. Howard of Michigan, Republicans, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri, Democrat. Oliver was Representative from the district of Missouri in which the border counties were situated.

On April 15, 1856, the Committee began examining witnesses at Lawrence and continued its work in several places in the Territory, in Missouri, on steamboats, in New York, Boston, and Washington. On July 2, Sherman and Howard made the Committee's report. It was frankly partisan. Oliver submitted a bitter dissent, also partisan, yet very plausible. But the majority report was adopted by the House and became the principal Republican campaign document — with one exception.

That exception was a Senate speech by Sumner, entitled 'The Crime against Kansas,' together with the report of the House Committee on the assault which had been committed by a member of the House on the Senator from Massachusetts.

Perhaps no single incident, not vitally important in itself, ever had such effect on public opinion and on the fortunes of a political party, as did the beating of Sumner in the Senate Chamber on the afternoon of May 22, 1856. Possibly it is not far wrong to say that that affair was scarcely less influential in bringing on the Civil War than *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, or 'Bleeding Kansas' itself.

Few men, so generally disliked by his associates as Sumner, ever served in a legislative body. After two or three years in the Senate many of his colleagues refused to speak to him.[1] Even Wade of Ohio, a bluff, forthright, fighting foe of slavery and the South, did not like the Massachusetts orator.[2] This unfriendly attitude was not caused by Sumner's opinions nor, altogether, by his language in expressing them: other anti-slavery Senators — Hale, Seward, Wade — had struck savage blows at slavery and yet kept on good terms, personally, with their colleagues.

[1] Pierce, III, 300, 437 *n.*

[2] Sumner had become much disliked in the Senate. Even Wade disapproved of him. 'For Wade there was a suspicion of arrogance, a flavor of sham, in the grand assumption of the splendid Sumner. . . . Most men at each interview with him had to tell him who and what they were.' *Life of Benjamin F. Wade:* A. G. Riddle, 209.

But Sumner contrived to irritate opponents. He had a very genius for antagonism, a quality that Lincoln was to encounter. Indeed, with a single physical exception, Lincoln and Sumner were exact opposites in mind, method, body, disposition, and in every characteristic — they were alike only in stature.

Sumner knew that he was able, knew that he was learned, and he was not unaware that he was handsome. Nor did he object to others knowing of his superiority. His voice was deep, sonorous and almost too well modulated; his enunciation clear and precise; his gestures appropriate but studied. He was versed in the classics which he loved to quote, and was an untiring worker. His speeches, although rhetorical and ornate, were full of facts. He was sincere, high-minded, and morally courageous; but he was without the least humility and had no consideration for the feelings or opinions of others. Indeed he seemed to think that anyone who disagreed with him was either a knave or a fool, and probably both.

Such in character was the man who, after routine business on May 19, 1856, rose in his place to address the Senate in the great debate about Kansas. That discussion had been going on for nearly four months. Steadily it had grown more heated.

The Democrats blamed the Emigrant Aid Company and like organizations for having started the trouble; and they branded the doings of the Free State Party as revolutionary and well-nigh treasonable. They condemned the interference of Missouri citizens with elections and affairs in Kansas, but said that it had been done to counteract the equally reprehensible interference of the Emigrant Aid Societies. The Kansas insurgents did not appeal to lawful methods of redress of grievances, asserted the Democrats, but defied law and order with Sharp's rifles in their hands.

The Republicans pointed with horror at the armed and lawless invasion of Kansas by the Border Ruffians of Missouri; there, said Republican Senators and Representatives, was the foul source of all the turbulence and evil that had come upon the Territory. The Emigrant Aid Company and its associates had done right in trying to people Kansas with free laborers who loved liberty and hated bondage. The Free State men were

heroes of a holy cause. They were patriots defending their sacred birthright of freedom. In their hands Sharp's rifles were instruments of heaven — theirs was the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. Moreover, Sharp's rifles were the only effective protection of the free emigrants from the bowie knives and guns and cannon of the whisky-soaked demons from Missouri.

In such fashion the battle of words had been fought in Congress for almost a score of weeks. The press had borne to the people every inflammatory word. In spite of the immediate pressure of other questions, that of race often intruded. 'White supremacy,' 'no negro equality' was heard throughout the debate. Although slavery and sectional antagonism were at the bottom of the controversy, it was also sharpened by party politics. The fact requires much repetition that the Presidential campaign was drawing near and that, in Congress, both sides manœuvred for position. Next to Seward, Sumner was the foremost Republican in the Nation.

So stood matters when Sumner spoke. He had prepared with unusual care. His speech was already in type and awaited only proof corrections before being mailed to thousands of addresses over the country. For weeks it had been known that Sumner would speak on May 19, and even some of the things he intended to say had been repeated in general conversation. When the handsome and talented Senator from Massachusetts rose, most Senators were in their places and a big crowd filled the galleries.[1]

Sumner spoke for parts of two days. It was a great oration. Although he added nothing new to the discussion, he marshalled evidence impressively and well. And the speech was dramatic. No circumstance of horror was omitted, no stinging phrase unused. As usual, Sumner indulged in shocking metaphors. The Crime against Kansas 'is the rape of a virgin Territory, compelling it to the hateful embrace of Slavery. . . . *Force* — ay, Sir, FORCE — is openly employed in compelling Kansas to this pollution.' As usual, too, he made display of his learning. Quotations from the classics, from Shakespeare, from Goethe, from Greek and Roman and Norse mythology, from the Bible,

[1] *Works:* Sumner, IV, 130, quoting *New York Evening Post.*

from legal authorities, were mingled with references to ruffians and ruffianism, whisky bottles, artillery, rifles, and bowie knives.

Further, Sumner went out of his way to attack Butler and Douglas personally, and with the extreme of offence. The white-haired Senator from South Carolina was absent on a short visit to his State. Obviously Sumner's assault on him and Douglas had been inserted after the speech was written, for it does not fit into the careful and orderly arrangement of the argument.

From the time he entered the Senate, his Abolition friends in Boston feared that Sumner would be softened by mingling with Southern Senators and the society of the capital, and urged him to be harsh; they now insisted that he use Phillips' policy of personal attack on opponents who were popular and strong.[1] Butler was the best liked, personally, of any man in the Senate, and Douglas was easily the leader of that body. Moreover, Sumner had made a trip through the South in 1855, had been cordially received, especially at Nashville. Then, too, Sumner's condemnation of all who tolerated slave-holders, amounted almost to a pose: 'Nor do I think it easy, hardly possible, for a defender of slavery to be a gentleman. . . . I know no one who in this vile cause does not forget honor, manhood, and manners.' [2] All these things must be taken into account when trying to see why Sumner said what he did about Butler, Douglas, and South Carolina.

Although Butler was not present, said Sumner, he must not lose 'the opportunity of exposing him.' Butler believes himself a chivalrous Knight and of course he has chosen a mistress, 'who, though ugly to others . . . is always . . . chaste in his sight. I mean the harlot Slavery.' Butler would defend her at all

[1] *Works:* Sumner, IV, 127–9. Also Sumner papers, MSS. 'Our men in Congress are too tame. They should . . . crush these fellows into submission.' Le Baron Russell to Sumner, May 11, 1856, etc.

'His friends, I remember, were told that they would find Sumner a man of the world like the rest; "'tis quite impossible to be at Washington and not bend; he will bend as the rest have done."' *Miscellanies:* Emerson, 249.

'He is now what he was put in the Senate to be — a puppet to wire-workers with brains, hunting for plunder; he . . . receives his instructions from them — he does his best to earn their approval.' *Washington Tri-Weekly Sentinel,* May 24, 1856.

[2] Sumner to the Earl of Carlisle, Oct. 26, 1854. Pierce, III, 405–8.

hazards, said Sumner. 'The frenzy of Don Quixote in behalf of his wench Dulcinea del Toboso is all surpassed.'

And, just as Butler was the Don Quixote, so Douglas was 'the Squire of Slavery, its very Sancho Panza.'

On the second day of his speech, Sumner belabored South Carolina. Again, the attack was not essential to his great argument. Why should Butler exalt South Carolina? 'Pray, Sir, by what title does he indulge in this egotism?' Let Butler remember 'the shameful imbecility' of his State during the Revolution, due to slavery.

'Were the whole history of South Carolina blotted out of existence . . . civilization might lose . . . less than it has already gained by the example of Kansas. . . . Ah, Sir, I tell the Senator that Kansas, welcomed as a Free State, "a ministering angel shall be" to the Republic, when South Carolina, in the cloak of darkness which she hugs, "lies howling."' [1] Sumner said other things equally insulting and equally unnecessary.

When he closed, the venerable Cass of Michigan, oldest of the Senate in service, got slowly upon his feet. 'Mr. President,' he said, 'I have listened with equal regret and surprise to the speech of the honorable Senator from Massachusetts. Such a speech — the most un-American and unpatriotic that ever grated on the ears of the members of this high body — as I hope never to hear again here or elsewhere.' Cass would not make further mention of it, he said, except to correct Sumner's statements about Michigan.

Douglas rose only because of Sumner's personalities, he declared. The argument required no answer — 'we have heard it all before.' It was like an old-fashioned New England bed-quilt, made of pieces of discarded dresses and full of 'pretty figures,' but without 'a new piece of material in the whole quilt.'

Sumner's 'classic allusions, each one only distinguished for its lasciviousness and obscenity,' were such as 'respectable colleges . . . suppressed.' At least a hundred times, Sumner had used 'obscene [and] vulgar terms' which reputable men would not re-

[1] For Sumner's whole speech, see *Works:* Sumner, IV, 137–249; *Cong. Globe,* 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 529–44.

peat in decent society. 'It seems that his studies of the classics have all been in those haunts where ladies cannot go, and where gentlemen never read Latin. [Laughter.]'

What did Sumner mean by making such a speech? asked Douglas. Did he want to 'turn the Senate into a bear garden?' Repeatedly Sumner had branded three-fourths of the Senate with infamy and crime. 'How dare he approach one of those gentlemen to give him his hand after that act? . . . He would deserve to have himself spit in the face for doing so.' Was it Sumner's purpose 'to provoke some of us to kick him as we would a dog in the street, that he may get sympathy upon the just chastisement?'

Sumner's offensive words had not been spoken in the heat of debate, said Douglas. For weeks it had been known and talked about, that Sumner 'had his speech written, printed, committed to memory, practiced every night before the glass with a negro boy to hold the candle and watch the gestures, and annoying the boarders in the adjoining rooms until they were forced to quit the House! [Laughter.]' It was said that parts of Sumner's speech, which he had read to friends, had been repeated 'in all the saloons and places of amusement in the city.'

No, exclaimed Douglas, Sumner's charges had not been spontaneous: those libels, the gross insults, had been 'conned over, written with cool, deliberate malignity, repeated from night to night in order to catch the appropriate grace, and then he came here to spit forth that malignity upon men who differ from him — for that is their offense.'

The 'venerable, the courteous, and the distinguished Senator from South Carolina' had been subjected to that 'tirade of abuse' — and in his absence. 'Every Senator who knows him loves him,' testified Douglas. Butler would soon return 'to speak for himself, and to act for himself, too.' But when Butler did come back, Sumner would 'whisper a secret apology in his ear, and ask him to accept that as satisfaction for a public outrage on his character! I know how the Senator from Massachusetts is in the habit of doing those things. I have had some experience of his skill in that respect.'

Gravely and in lofty manner Mason of Virginia added his re-

buke. In the Chamber Senators must submit, of necessity, to associations which they avoided in private life, he said. They were forced to listen 'from sources utterly irresponsible, to language to which no gentleman would subject himself elsewhere.' Sumner did not know what truth was, did not know the quality of 'an honorable mind.' The Senate was compelled to tolerate him, but he was 'one whom to see elsewhere is to shun and despise.'

Boldly Sumner flung back these insults. Douglas was 'a common scold:' let him remember that 'the bowie-knife and bludgeon are not the proper emblems of senatorial debate. . . . The swagger of Bob Acres and the ferocity of the Malay cannot add dignity to this body.' Douglas had made unfounded statements. 'I only brand them to his face as false. I say, also, to that Senator, and I wish him to bear it in mind, that no person with the upright form of man can be allowed — [Hesitation]

'Mr. DOUGLAS: Say it!

'Mr. SUMNER: I will say it — no person with the upright form of man can be allowed . . . to switch out from his tongue the perpetual stench of offensive personality. . . . The noisome, squat, and nameless animal, to which I now refer, is not a proper model for an American Senator. Will the Senator from Illinois take notice?

'Mr. DOUGLAS: I will; and therefore will not imitate you, Sir.

'Mr. SUMNER: Mr. President, again the Senator has switched his tongue, and again he fills the Senate with its offensive odor.'

As to Mason, said Sumner, he only showed 'plantation manners.'

'Manners of which that Senator is unconscious,' retorted Mason.

Douglas had the last word: 'I will only say that a man who has been branded by me in the Senate, and convicted by the Senate of falsehood, cannot use language requiring reply.' [1]

The anti-slavery press acclaimed Sumner's speech as 'masterly,' 'scathing,' 'a combination of oratorical splendors,' 'a solemn, majestic anthem,' a greater than Burke's orations, the

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 544–7.

equal of Webster's noblest efforts.[1] But in Washington it created an angry sensation. Sumner's personal assault on Butler and Douglas, his withering attack on South Carolina, his words and manner, the 'indecency' of his allusions, were the sole topics of conversation. Women were especially severe; at social dinners that night and the next, it was often said that Sumner ought to be thrashed.[2]

In House and Senate there was sullen resentment. Sometimes this ill feeling was expressed in private conversation. In the sixty-seven years of its existence, it was said, no such language had ever before been heard in the Senate. Fiery words had been spoken in heated debates; quarrels and fights had taken place; but never until Sumner delivered his oration had a Senator lashed other Senators with personal abuse carefully prepared long beforehand; and never before had a Senator besmirched the good name of a particular State.

This fact, brought conspicuously forward by what immediately followed, caused the Senate to adopt a new rule: 'No Senator in debate shall refer offensively to any State of the Union.' [3]

Among the members of the House who heard Sumner's assault on South Carolina was a young Representative from that State, Preston Smith Brooks, a distant relative of Senator Butler. Brooks was thirty-six years old, about six feet tall and of robust physique. He was a graduate of the College of South Carolina, had practised law and had served with credit as a captain in the famous 'Palmetto Regiment' during the Mexican War. Thereafter Brooks had devoted himself exclusively to the business of a planter, until he was elected to Congress in 1853.

To the time of the affray which we are now to witness, he had

[1] *Works:* Sumner, IV, 129–31. 'Mr. Sumner has added a cubit to his stature.' *Illinois Daily State Journal,* June 4, 1856.

[2] Pierce, III, 455–60. The account of the Sumner-Brooks affair given in the text, is from the testimony taken by the *House Committee Reports,* III, No. 182, 19–86, and from the various newspaper accounts within the next few days after the incident. Washington Correspondence, *New York Herald,* May 22, in issue May 23; *Washington Tri-Weekly Sentinel,* May 27; *Illinois Daily State Journal,* June 4; *ib.,* Washington Correspondence of New York *Tribune,* May 22, in issue of May 23; *ib.,* of New York *Times,* May 23, etc.

[3] Sec. 3, Rule XIX. For debate over this and other proposed amendments to the Senate rules, see *Cong. Globe,* 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Pt. II, 1477–84.

borne a singularly good reputation in the capital. He had even won the praise of the *National Era* for courtesy in debate over the Kansas-Nebraska bill, an unusual thing for that official Abolition organ to concede for any slave-holder or Southern man.[1] The *Washington Union* had been ardent in commendation of the young South Carolinian: 'His position as a debater is among the first; and his popularity with men of all parties enables him to be of great service to his constituents.' [2]

The feeling that led Brooks to do what he now did, can be understood only by having clearly in mind the devotion which Southern men had for their States. This love amounted to a passion in those from the older States. Even before the war such sentiment was not realized in the North; to-day it cannot be even comprehended.

In 1856, a Southern man might possibly submit to personal offensiveness, but never to an insult to his State. The two things which, to him, were sacred, were family and State — and State even before family. So Southern men generally were furious over Sumner's speech; and the members from South Carolina took his attack on their State as a personal affront. But it was Brooks who undertook to punish the 'traducer,' because Sumner had also personally assailed his relative as well as his State.

Brooding over the matter, Brooks felt it to be his duty to thrash Sumner, but he did not act at once. Just before Congress opened the day after the speech, he waited in the Capitol grounds for Sumner to come by. Brooks chanced to meet a colleague, Henry A. Edmundston of Virginia, on his way to the House, and asked him to stay and be a witness to what might happen. But Sumner did not come, and the day passed without incident.

[1] 'Mr. Brooks of South Carolina was always a Southern gentleman in . . . his courtesy, in the loftiness of his bearing and in the bitterness and scorn of his denunciations. He is a young gentleman of fine appearance, of good information and of fair elocution and will no doubt acquire practical wisdom with increasing years which, on the subject of slavery, is greatly to be desired.' *National Era*, clipped in *Washington Union*, March 19, 1854.

[2] *Washington Union*, Sept. 10, 1854. Editorial on complaints from South Carolina of Brooks's speech on the Pacific Railway bill. Even Sumner's biographer says that, before the assault, Brooks was 'a modest and orderly member' of the House. 'All agree that he was amiable and friendly.'

On June 21, 1854, Brooks offered a resolution in the House against bringing concealed weapons into the Chamber. Pierce, III, 462.

That night Brooks could not sleep; the next day he was in an ugly and abnormal state of mind. Again he waited for Sumner, this time stationing himself on the terrace overlooking Pennsylvania Avenue and other approaches to the Capitol. Again Edmundston was with him. Again Sumner did not appear. So the two men went to the Capitol; but Brooks went to the Senate Chamber, while Edmundston started for the House.

Both bodies promptly adjourned in respect to the memory of a member of the House who had died on the previous day. Brooks took a seat in the Senate not far from Sumner whose desk was on the back row and second from the center aisle. Two employees of the Senate, a woman, and half a dozen Senators were on the floor. Douglas, Slidell, and two or three others were seated in the cloak room, talking politics. Brooks asked some one to get the woman out of the chamber and this was done.

Brooks had a cane which he always carried. It was gutta-percha, of a type then much affected by gentlemen. In size it was an inch in diameter at the butt, a quarter of an inch narrower at the tip, and it was hollow for three-eighths of an inch from end to end.

Sumner was sitting at his desk, writing. Because of his huge stature, his desk was raised on a platform two or three inches high; and this fact, together with the elevation of each row of desks behind the one in front of it, lifted Sumner's place noticeably above any in the Chamber.

When the woman left, Brooks rose, walked down in front of Sumner's desk and said, speaking in curiously restrained and 'courteous' tones:[1] 'Mr. Sumner, I have read your speech twice, with great care and with as much impartiality as I am capable of and I feel it my duty to say to you that you have published a libel on my State, and uttered a slander upon a relative who is aged and absent, and I am come to punish you.'

Instantly Brooks struck Sumner over the head. Sumner's

[1] 'My attention was first directed by seeing Mr. Brooks address Mr. Sumner in what I supposed to be courteous language. . . . I was surprised to see a South Carolinian address Mr. Sumner in courteous language and that attracted my attention.' Testimony of Warren Winslow, Clerk of Senate, before House Investigating Committee, May 27, 1856. *House Committee Reports*, III, No. 182, 56–7.

long legs were thrust under his desk and, in trying to rise, it was torn from the platform and partially overturned.

Brooks rained blows upon Sumner's head, striking as hard and fast as he could. Sumner was dazed. The cane broke, and, after fifteen or twenty blows, was shattered into fragments. Sumner tried to ward off the strokes and seize the cane. The positions of the two men swiftly changed, and at the end, Sumner fell unconscious in the aisle against a desk two rows to the front and one desk to the left of where the assault began.

The whole thing was over in thirty seconds. As soon as he could reach the spot, Senator Crittenden seized Brooks, who had a cut over the eye. 'I did not wish to hurt him much, but only to whip him,' he exclaimed. When he heard the blows, the assistant doorkeeper, Isaac Holland, a big burly man, rushed forward crying 'I command Peace.' One of Brooks's colleagues, 'Lawrence M. Keitt of South Carolina, with lifted cane, cried, Hands off.' But so swift was the attack and so quickly came the end, that a perfectly clear and precise account could not be had. No one saw the first blow struck. Brooks insisted that it was only a tap given to make Sumner rise; Sumner said that it was so hard that it stunned him. Brooks stopped striking when Sumner fell.

Bleeding and faint, Sumner was helped to an anteroom and a physician called. Besides bruises on head, neck, shoulder, and hand, there were two long cuts and a short one in the scalp, from which blood poured. At first the surgeon said that the wounds were the worst of the kind he ever saw; but the next day he reported that Sumner was not much hurt.[1] Three days later, how-

[1] 'Mr. Sumner has several severe but not dangerous wounds on his head.' Associated Press dispatch in New York *Tribune*, May 23, 1856.

In Court, Brooks said that he was sorry Sumner was not present for he wanted to ask him 'in person' how badly he really was hurt. As to the violence of the first blow, he averred that it 'was but a tap, and intended to put him on his guard. But, sir, he is conveniently and deliberately absent and on travel,' etc. Report Brooks's trial, *Washington Star*, July 9, clipped in New York *Tribune*, July 10, 1856.

Democratic papers and politicians said that Sumner was either imagining that he was hurt or was shamming illness until after the election. *Washington Express*, clipped in *Washington Tri-Weekly Sentinel*, July 15, 1856.

All Southern men and women and many in the North, thought that Sumner pretended to be far worse than he was; and this view is held in the South at the present day.

But Sumner was, in fact, badly injured, chiefly from shock to his nervous system. He went to France for treatment and was gone more than two years. Pierce, III, 563–98.

ever, he suffered from pain and fever, caused by suppuration — the doctor had, too soon, closed one of the cuts with collodion.

News of the assault set the North on fire. The rendition of Burns, the turbulence in Kansas, did not have an effect so inflaming. Even conservative men, not unfriendly to the South and not opposed to slavery, shook their heads in despair. Here, said anti-slavery papers and speakers, was a tragic example of Southern spirit, an awful illustration of slave-holder methods. Brooks was pictured as a burly, uncouth bully and coward, creeping upon Sumner from behind, felling him with a bludgeon and then raining murderous blows on a helpless victim.[1]

Throughout the South, on the contrary, the assault was approved and applauded. Sumner had provoked it, and a caning was the least chastisement that could be given him. It was well known that he would not fight, and the law furnished no adequate redress, nor, indeed, any redress at all. Should a vulgarian be permitted to insult a Senator and even a State, and go unwhipped of justice? Should such creatures be licensed to besmirch upright characters and befoul noble records of historic

[1] 'Mr. Sumner was struck unawares over the head by a loaded cane. . . . No meaner exhibition of Southern cowardice . . . was ever witnessed. . . . If, indeed, we go on quietly to submit to such outrages, we deserve to have our noses flattened, our skins blacked,' etc. New York *Tribune*, May 23, 1856.

The *Tribune*, May 24, 1856, printed columns of extracts from the press of the country on the Brooks assault.

The *Illinois State Journal*, June 2, 1856, is typical of the milder comments in anti-slavery papers. 'This is the most direct blow against the freedom of speech ever made in this country. . . .

'Brooks and his southern allies have deliberately adopted the monstrous creed that any man who dares to utter sentiments which they deem wrong or unjust, shall be brutally assailed. . . .

'But on carrying out their ruffianly creed, these men skulk into the Senate Chamber, crouch in a seat near the gentleman whose frank and outspoken words have offended them, and at the moment when he is all unconscious and all unprepared, rush upon him, and with a heavy bludgeon beat him to unconsciousness. . . .

'It was sheer cowardice, and worse than cowardice,' etc.

Many Northern papers, however, while condemning Brooks blamed Sumner for the offensive part of his speech. For example, the *Boston Courier*, an old line Whig and Webster paper said: 'The speech of Mr. Sumner was exceedingly insulting.' Clipped in *Illinois Daily State Register*, June 5, 1856. New York *Tribune*, May 26, 1856.

'All parties confess that Sumner's speech surpassed in blackguardism anything ever delivered in the senate. . . . He made a speech against Senator Butler which was never equalled by the lowest pot house slime. . . . The nation will say that Sumner got no more than he deserved. He is a base, lying blackguard, a bully without courage, . . . a provoker of fights,' etc. *Illinois State Register*, May 26, 1856. Also see *Albany* (N.Y.) *Argus* in New York *Tribune*, July 11, 1856.

Commonwealths, and be protected by a misuse of the principle of freedom of speech and debate? Sumner had richly deserved what he got. Let the good work go on. Others ought to be caned, too; it might check their falsehoods and teach them manners.[1]

Thus spoke the Southern press and the Southern people. Brooks became a hero. Many meetings passed resolutions of approval. Canes were presented him by the score. The University of Virginia gave him one.[2] The slaves of Columbia, South Carolina, effusively applauded him and raised 'a handsome subscription' with which to buy a testimonial of their regard.[3]

A Committee of the Senate formally condemned the assault, but said that the Senate had no power to examine or punish the conduct of a Member of the House. Brooks promptly apologized to the Senate and to his colleagues; but the House ordered an investigation which was thoroughly and rigidly made. The majority report urged that Brooks be expelled and Edmundston and Keitt be reprimanded; the minority report insisted that the House had no jurisdiction to inquire into what a member did outside the Chamber. A heated debate took place. Some of the speeches were very bitter. Brooks 'stole into the Senate . . . and smote him as Cain smote his brother,' cried Anson Burlingame of Massachusetts. That State had furnished more Revolution-

[1] 'These vulgar Abolitionists in the Senate . . . have been suffered to run too long without collars. They must be lashed into submission. . . . We trust other gentlemen will follow the example of Mr. Brooks. . . . If need be, let us have a caning or cowhiding every day.' *Richmond Enquirer*, June 2, clipped in New York *Tribune*, June 3, 1856. Also *Richmond Enquirer*, June 9, in *Tribune*, June 11, 1856.

'Skulking behind the chivalrous code of non-combatancy, which he and his foul-mouthed fraternity have established for their insolent licentiousness, . . . he [Sumner] . . . violently outraged even the ordinary decencies of common life, by the employment of language which would have been offensive to the lowest society of either man or woman! . . . It seems there are no rules of the Senate . . . to punish the offender. . . . *What is to be done?* Nothing in this wide world but to cowhide bad manners *out* of him, or good manners *into* him,' etc. *Washington Tri-Weekly Sentinel*, May 27, 1856. Italics *Sentinel's*.

'Although Mr. Brooks ought to have selected some other spot for the altercation than the Senate chamber, if he had broken every bone in Sumner's carcass it would have been but a just retribution upon this slanderer of the South and her individual citizens.' *Petersburg Intelligencer*, clipped in *Washington Tri-Weekly Sentinel*, May 29, 1856.

[2] New York *Tribune*, June 12, 1856.

[3] The *South Carolinian*, clipped in *St. Louis Evening News* and reprinted in *Illinois Weekly State Journal*, June 11, 1856.

ary soldiers than the whole South.[1] Thereafter both Northern and Southern men went to the House fully armed.[2]

The Massachusetts Legislature passed angry resolutions. Thus, said Hunter of Virginia, Massachusetts converted 'a personal dispute into the magnitude of a public quarrel;' of the many previous encounters because of debates in Congress, the Sumner-Brooks affair was the first in which a State interposed. The result was to inflame sectional strife, which ought to be appeased since the States were all one family.[3] Seward declared that Brooks's doctrine was the same as that of Comanches and Sioux, that the Massachusetts resolutions were proper, but that no verbal assault should be made on any State. Butler said that if he should get whipped in a personal encounter, South Carolina would not hold 'indignation meetings.'[4]

In the House the vote on the resolutions to expel Brooks was strictly partisan; the necessary two-thirds could not be had, and the resolution of expulsion was not adopted. Brooks made a defiant speech and resigned.[5] As he walked from the House, Southern women hugged and kissed him.[6] In his district he was reëlected by a unanimous vote.

Incalculable impetus was given the Republican Party by the Sumner assault. Every blow of Brooks's cane made myriads of Republican votes. Opponents of slavery extension, hitherto divided on other questions, began to unite.[7]

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 653–6. June 21, 1856. Burlingame's speech was bellicose and deliberately insulting. Brooks challenged him; Burlingame accepted and named rifles as weapons and Canada as the place. Brooks declined to go through the North on the ground that he would be mobbed. Pierce, III, 493.

[2] Washington Correspondence, New York *Tribune*, May 23, 27, 29, in issues May 24, 28, June 3, 1856.

[3] *Cong. Globe*, 34th Cong. 1st Sess., Appendix, 656–61, June 24, 1856.

[4] *Ib.*, 661–5. [5] *Ib.*, 831–3.

[6] Pierce, III, 491. Keitt stoutly defended his colleague: it was, he said, the 'sanctity of character on one side, and impunity to slander on the other.' Butler's name was 'interwoven' with South Carolina's history and his 'family escutcheon is bound with laurels won on many a field.' Then Keitt, too, resigned. *Ib.*, 833–9.

[7] The House ordered to be printed 100,000 copies of the majority report with Sumner's speech annexed. James L. Orr of South Carolina said that it was 'intended as an electioneering document for the Republican party.' It was part of a 'systematic effort to mislead and inflame the public mind of the North.' *Ib.*, 805–9, July 19, 1856.

This pamphlet was the principal, and by far the most effective Republican campaign document of 1856.

Nearly two years had elapsed since the historic meeting under the oaks at Jackson, Michigan. Already most of those who were to become national leaders of the party had rallied to its banner. In October, 1855, Seward finally had taken his stand, made his great Buffalo and Albany Republican speeches, and, by common consent, had become the national Republican chieftain.

But Lincoln had remained out of it. Always slow to make up his mind about anything, always doubtful of new expedients and inclined to oppose novel devices, he had not accepted the Republican Party. During the summer and fall of 1855 earnest efforts had been made to strengthen it in Illinois. Giddings, Codding, Lovejoy, and other Republican leaders had worked hard to that end.[1]

Seemingly it was a good time to get recruits. The Know-Nothings were losing favor. In June Logan had been defeated for the Supreme Court, largely because, when trying to elect Lincoln to the Senate, he had worked with the Know-Nothings. He was, said Lincoln, 'worse beaten than any other man ever was since elections were invented.'[2] A Know-Nothing mob had howled down Governor Wise of Virginia when he was trying to make a speech in Washington — almost an exact repetition of Douglas's experience in Chicago a few months earlier. Life had been taken in a Know-Nothing riot in Cincinnati. In Louisville a ferocious outburst had occurred — nearly a score of foreign-born citizens were killed as the result of a Know-Nothing election disturbance, and blocks of houses were burned.[3]

[1] Joshua R. Giddings 'has been perambulating the northern sections of the state with the Rev. Ichabod Codding, organizing the Republican party, . . . a nigger-stealing, stinking, putrid, abolition party.' *St. Clair Weekly Tribune*, Oct. 6, 1855. *Joliet Signal*, Sept. 18, 1855.

'We in Illinois are now just commencing a systematic organization of Republicanism. . . . In this part or central portion of the State we are backward, timid and cowardly.' Herndon to Theodore Parker, Oct. 30, 1855. Newton, 82.

[2] Lincoln to Whitney, June 7, 1855. Weik MSS.

In Springfield Logan was beaten by a majority of 228. *Illinois State Register*, June 5, 1855; and in the District by 9,890. *Ib.*, June 23. It was fully expected that he would win.

'The people of Sangamon have put their fist upon the midnight plotters. . . . Judge Logan's affiliation with that faction last winter in the Legislature is repudiated.' *Ib.*, June 6, July 16, 1855.

[3] *Louisville Journal*, Aug. 7, clipped in *Washington Tri-Weekly Sentinel*, Aug. 11, 1855; New York *Tribune*, Aug. 8, 11, 13, 1855; New York *Times*, Aug. 10, 1855; *New*

Alarmed by the apparent beginning of the decline of their cause, the Know-Nothings held many meetings and 'conventions' throughout Illinois. Obstinate, pugnacious, and as fanatically sincere as either Abolitionists or the champions of slavery themselves, the Know-Nothings of 1855 stubbornly clung to their organization. Most of them had been Whigs, and while they were weakening, as a party, they still were the decisive force in the politics of the times.

Under these circumstances Lovejoy urged Lincoln to come out for 'fusion' [Republican Party]. Lincoln refused — the success of any combination required that the Know-Nothings join it, he said. They were still powerful around Springfield and many of them were his 'old political and personal friends.' He was as much against their principles as he was against those of slavery extension, he said; but no political merger could win without the Know-Nothings.[1]

Soon after his letter to Lovejoy, Lincoln wrote Speed that he did not know to what party he belonged, if to any — that was 'a disputed point.

'I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist. . . . I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that "all men are created equal!" We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty, — to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.' [2]

York Herald, Aug. 9, 1855, printed comments of German, French, and other American papers on the Louisville riots. The riot was started by the 'foreigners' because they were forcibly kept from voting, which they always had been permitted to do before this particular municipal election.

[1] Lincoln to Lovejoy, Aug. 11, 1855. Tracy, 59–60.

[2] Lincoln to Speed, Aug. 24, 1855. *Works*, II, 281–7.

Yet, for reasons given Lovejoy two weeks before he wrote to Speed, Lincoln did not denounce the Know-Nothings publicly.

Another circumstance had effect on Lincoln. To stop Democratic defection and get the support of the 'national' Whigs, Douglas had made a speaking tour of Illinois. On his trail went Trumbull, and sometimes Lincoln also made answer to the 'Little Giant.' [1] So untiring and fierce was Douglas's energy that, in spite of his well-nigh abnormal physical strength, his power showed signs of breaking; for he was often sick.[2]

The burden of Douglas's speeches was defence of popular sovereignty; attack on the Emigrant Aid Company and its Sharp's rifles-policy; assertion that the Republican Party represented all the 'isms,' was purely sectional, would cause disunion and perhaps civil war; [3] that the Whig Party was gone and that the Democratic Party was the only national political organization left in the field. The charge that the Republican Party was sectional and would force the South to secede became the outstanding issue of the coming Presidential campaign, and it profoundly affected Lincoln's course, both before and after he joined the new party.

So while national, State, and local leaders had striven to advance the Republican cause in Illinois and throughout the country, Lincoln had held aloof. Indeed, if we may judge by what the *Illinois State Journal* said, he resisted efforts to form the new party, for that paper attacked the movement in repeated editorials. These continued to appear until a short time before the famous Bloomington Convention which met on May 29, 1856.[4]

[1] Herndon to Theodore Parker, Oct. 30, 1855. Newton, 82–4. Herndon says that Douglas showed 'power of a peculiar nature . . . energy, duplicity and dexterity, driven by an abandon fired by rum.'

[2] Shields came back to Illinois and helped Douglas on the stump. In a speech at Springfield he declared that popular sovereignty assured freedom in Kansas and that because of the working of that principle '*no man would ever see another slave Territory on this continent,*' even if we acquired the whole of it to the Isthmus of Darien. *Washington Tri-Weekly Sentinel,* Jan. 3, 1856. Italics *Sentinel's.*

[3] 'In 1860 comes the real struggle between the North and South. . . . I think not before.' Theodore Parker to Herndon, Nov. 30, 1855. Newton, 84–5.

[4] 'The Journal will continue . . . opposed to fanaticism and extreme views.' *Illinois Journal,* July 11, 1855.

For several weeks, however, Lincoln had been gradually tending toward the new party; yet his obstinate mind yielded slowly. That he had not before gone into it was characteristic — and in Illinois, was wise. But political developments in the Nation were progressing as logically and rapidly as the course of events in Kansas. Lincoln could not much longer keep his uncertain stand. As usual, he reacted with the public, and we shall presently hear him express the emotion now raging throughout the North.[1]

Washington's birthday, 1856, was an important date in the history of the Republican Party and a decisive point in Lincoln's political life. On that day, at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, the new party was organized on a national basis, and a nominating Convention called to meet at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856.[2] An intolerably long Address was issued; [3] it was almost entirely

'Patriotic men cannot be too careful how they sympathize with or lend their influence to mere sectional parties.' *Illinois Journal*, July 17, 1855.

'There is a manifest effort at the present time to swallow up the old line Whigs, in this Republican party . . . and transfer them from their broad, tried and national platform to a single plank.' *Ib.*, Aug. 4, 1855.

'The antecedents of neither Mr. Giddings nor Mr. Codding are such as to recommend them to the conservative . . . portion of the community.' *Ib.*, Sept. 26, 1855.

The Republican party 'can by no possibility do any good — it may be the means of great evil.' *Ib.*, Oct. 5, 1855.

'The so-called Republican party . . . is so intensely sectional, that its existence could not be continued with safety to the Union.' *Ib.*, Nov. 15, 1855.

'The people . . . will not countenance or uphold a merely sectional party.' *Ib.*, Nov. 21, 1855.

'The . . . Republican leaders in Illinois . . . must see the utter hopelessness of any attempt to cut loose entirely from the Whigs or Americans [Know-Nothings]. . . . The Republican party of Illinois can even now command but a very small fraction of voters and those only of the most ultra views. Before another six months, we believe, it will be entirely without rank and file.' *Ib.*, Nov. 30, 1855.

'The Whig party has always been in its broadest sense an American Party. . . . To make a successful opposition to the Democracy the Know Nothings must move forward to this old Whig ground.' *Ib.*, Dec. 19, 1855.

'Should the next Presidential election go into the House of Representatives, the balance of power will . . . rest with the Americans [Know-Nothings] and Whigs.' *Ib.*, Dec. 21, 1855.

[1] Herndon, II, 382. 'He must be a Democrat, Know-Nothing, Abolitionist, or Republican, or forever float about in the great political sea without compass, rudder, or sail. At length he declared himself.'

[2] The Pittsburg Republican conference was dominated by radicals. Among the delegates from Illinois were Lovejoy, Codding, and John H. Bryant, brother of William Cullen Bryant. Oliver P. Morton was a delegate from Indiana. New York *Times*, Feb. 26, 1856.

[3] New York *Tribune*, Feb. 25, 1856.

on Kansas,[1] and this address in substance became the Republican platform in the Presidential campaign of that year. In the evening the convention went in a body to a Kansas Aid meeting.[2]

On the same day that the Republicans met at Pittsburg, the Know-Nothing or American Party held its National Convention at Philadelphia. The majority were for adopting the regular Know-Nothing platform and nominating party candidates for the impending Presidential campaign. Delegates who were against slavery extension insisted that the Party declare itself on that subject, and they opposed making nominations at once. But a majority of nearly three to one decided to go ahead.[3] So they reaffirmed the party creed and nominated Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee.[4]

When they found that they could not have their way, the minority of the Know-Nothings, which included delegates from New England, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Iowa, withdrew from the Convention,[5] and soon afterwards these insurgents nominated John C. Frémont, by birth of Georgia, but named from California, and William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania as their candidates. Most of these seceding, or independent, Know-Nothings afterwards turned up as active and influential delegates to the Republican Convention at Philadelphia.[6]

At bottom, the cause of the disruption of the Know-Nothing Party was disagreement about Kansas. The fight for freedom in Kansas was the immediate force which directed political

[1] Lovejoy made a war speech — he wanted to go to Kansas as a private soldier. New York *Times*, Feb. 23, 1856.

[2] *Ib.*, Feb. 25, 1856. [3] McKee, 100. [4] The adopted son of President Jackson.

[5] Thomas Spooner of Ohio, a delegate to the Know-Nothing gathering at Philadelphia, telegraphed the Republicans at Pittsburg: 'Americans [Know-Nothings] are with you. Raise the Republican banner.' New York *Times*, Feb. 23, 1856.

[6] The Know-Nothing nominating Convention came at the end of a four-day session of the National Council during which dissension constantly grew. Justice John McLean of the Supreme Court, Senators Houston of Texas, and Garrett Davis of Kentucky also received votes as the party's candidate for President.

A resolution by a New York delegate proposed to eject Thomas H. Ford of Ohio, because Ford was 'now in conference with the Black Republican and Foreign Party.'

For full account of the Know-Nothing proceedings at Philadelphia, see New York *Times*, Feb. 19–26, 1856, inclusive.

movements throughout the North and gave new life to the Republican Party. The assault on Sumner was the throwing of oil upon combustible material already burning. But for 'Bully Brooks' and the 'Border Ruffians' the new party would have made little headway.

On the very day the Republicans had organized at Pittsburg and the Know-Nothings had met at Philadelphia, a little band of Illinois 'anti-Nebraska' editors assembled at Decatur to organize for the 'coming contest.' [1] The meeting was called by a young man of thirty-one, Paul Selby, editor of the *Morgan Journal* of Jacksonville.[2] Two years earlier, he had helped organize the Republican Party at the Springfield Convention,[3] to escape which Lincoln left town.

Lincoln came over from Springfield, seemingly to keep extreme statements out of the 'platform.' At any rate he was in touch all day with the committee, and Selby tells us that the resolutions bear 'the stamp of his peculiar intellect.' [4] So, in practical effect this 'Decatur platform' merely opposed the extension of slavery.

One of the editors, George Schneider of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, insisted upon a moderate anti-Know-Nothing plank. This 'raised a storm of opposition,' but Lincoln said that it was nothing new, since it was in the Declaration of Independence, and that a new party could not be built on 'proscriptive principles.' [5] To make sure of the German vote, it was put in.[6] Although a plank on State matters was adopted, all reference to prohibition was prudently avoided.[7] A committee was appointed to call a State Convention. On this committee was Herndon, Gillespie, and Koerner — an Abolitionist Whig, a Know-Nothing Whig, and a German Democrat. The word 'Republican' was left out of the call.[8]

The convention was held in the parlor of the Cassell House [9]

[1] *Era:* Cole, 143.

[2] Selby's statement in *Trans. McLean Co. Hist. Socy.*, III, 34–5. [3] *Ib.*, 43–7.

[4] Selby, 37. [5] Schneider's statement. *Trans. McLean Co. Hist. Socy.*, III, 88–9.

[6] *Era:* Cole, 144.

[7] The platform of the 'Anti-Nebraska Editorial Convention' was published in full in the *Quincy Whig*, Feb. 28, 1856. A few other anti-Nebraska papers also printed it.

[8] *Era:* Cole, 144–5. [9] Now called the St. Nicholas Hotel.

and that night the delegates were given a banquet. Several speeches were made, the principal one by Lincoln. As usual, he was amusing, and, as usual, wise. Not being an editor, he said, he felt like the ugly man riding through a wood who met a woman, also on horseback. She stopped and said:

'Well, for land sake, you are the homeliest man I ever saw.'

'Yes, madam, but I can't help it,' said he.

'No, I suppose not,' she observed, 'but you might stay at home.' [1]

An editor had proposed that Lincoln be made the candidate for Governor. No! said Lincoln, it would not do to have an old line Whig like himself at the head of the ticket; an anti-Nebraska Democrat would be 'more available' for that place. Col. William H. Bissell was the man to lead the fight.[2]

But the *State Journal* approved the Decatur platform as being neither Republican nor Know-Nothing.[3] For several weeks Lincoln showed no further interest in the matter. Instead, he went on riding the circuit and let political events take their course.

The eager Herndon, however, was enthusiastic, although, he said cryptically, the new party must 'regard the constitution.' [4] Still, 'Resistance to Tyrants is obedience to God,' he exclaimed.[5] As we have seen, he had joined the Republican Party, when it was formed in Springfield on October 5, 1854, under the leadership of Lovejoy and Codding. Some of the editors at the Decatur meeting were also members; but, while that Party, as a State organization, had been in existence in Illinois for nearly a year and a half, nobody but anti-slavery extremists had had anything to do with it.

Now the time had come when its membership might be broadened and fusion effected with other groups, such as the Know-

[1] B. F. Shaw in *Trans. McLean Co. Hist. Socy.*, III, 68. [2] Selby, 39.

[3] Feb. 25, 1856, as quoted in *Era:* Cole, 144. On the other hand the *Rockford Republican*, March 19, 1856, said: 'There is not a plank in the platform but what is made of sound-live-oak Republican timber.' The *State Journal* had broken with Herndon or he with it, over the Know-Nothing question. 'I have nothing to do with it now, nor for months.' Herndon to Theodore Parker, April 28, 1856. Newton, 91–2. A new editor had taken charge, but Lincoln's intimacy appears to have continued.

[4] Herndon to Trumbull, March 8, 1856. Trumbull MSS.

[5] Same to same, March 28, 1856. *Ib.*

Nothings. As Lincoln had told Lovejoy, the adherence of those men was indispensable to the success of any combination against the Democrats. But the radicals insisted that there could be 'no middle ground.' [1] And there were the Germans to be considered, too: the Bloomington resolutions must oppose Know-Nothingism, wrote the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* to Trumbull.[2]

To no one except Herndon was the outlook rosy. Bissell thought that few would go to the Bloomington meeting except the Decatur coterie that called it: 'nominations by such a convention are but the surest modes of killing off the nominees. . . . The anti-Nebraska Democrats ought to have rallied and taken control and direction of this Bloomington Convention.' Had that been done, Bissell might have accepted the nomination for Governor; but as things were he did not see any 'inducement to mix myself up with them.' [3] Judd wrote Trumbull that but for Know-Nothingism 'we could get McIllroy Egan and that set of Irishmen.' The prospects were that the Kansas 'excitement' would continue; 'and our Democrats want a Democrat nominated.' [4]

Finally Herndon drew up a call for a meeting of those in Sangamon County who favored 'the Policy of Washington and Jefferson,' [5] to select delegates to the Bloomington Convention. Lincoln was absent on the circuit. Herndon signed his name at the head of the list.[6] When some of the old line Whigs saw it in the *State Journal*, they were dismayed. Stuart 'rushed' to Herndon and asked if 'Lincoln had signed that Abolition call.'

'No,' answered Herndon.

'Did Lincoln authorize you to sign it?' persisted Stuart.

'No,' admitted Herndon.

'Then you have ruined him,' exclaimed the angry Stuart.

[1] John H. Bryant, Princeton, Ill., to Trumbull, March 24, 1856. Trumbull MSS.

[2] C. H. Ray to Trumbull, May 11, 1856. *Ib.*

[3] Bissell to Trumbull, May 5, 1856. *Ib.*

[4] Judd to Trumbull, May 15, 1856. *Ib.*

Continuance of the 'Kansas excitement' was thought to be necessary to Republican success. 'We have no doubt it will continue so till after the Presidential election.' J. S. P., 'Special Correspondent' of the New York *Tribune*, at Washington, May 28, in issue June 2, 1856.

[5] *Illinois State Journal*, May 14, 1856.

[6] One hundred and twenty-nine names were signed to the call. *Ib.*

Herndon wrote Lincoln that the matter was causing 'a stir' among his old Whig friends; did Lincoln approve or disapprove of what Herndon had done?

The telegraph wires were crackling with stories of the assault on Sumner and of renewed violence in Kansas. Lincoln answered Herndon: 'All right; go ahead. Will meet you — radicals and all.' [1]

At last, on the day of the meeting, the *State Journal* came out sturdily for the movement.[2] 'Just as we have predicted,' sneered the *State Register;* 'the sore-head democrats have united with some of the black republican leaders . . . to draw into their ranks a portion of the old line whigs.' [3]

On May 24, 1856, two days after the Brooks attack on Sumner in the Senate Chamber, Sangamon County delegates to Bloomington were chosen. Among them were both Lincoln and Herndon. But, said the junior partner, speaking the sentiment of his senior, the convention must be conservative — such men as Lincoln, Browning, and some sound Democrats must draft the platform.[4] The fact that Lincoln and others like him had promised to attend, encouraged those who were trying to make the gathering 'as respectable as possible.' [5] Herndon spoke in Sangamon and adjacent counties, 'trying to stir up MEN' — let Trumbull send him the worst pro-slavery speeches he could find. The Bloomington affair would be 'quite conservative,' he optimistically prophesied.[6] He was doing his best, '"shoving" along the young men to have a good attendance.' [7]

Such were the circumstances under which Lincoln finally cast his fortunes with the Republican Party, which, however, those who were forming it anew in Illinois did not yet call by that name. We now shall go with him through the historic campaign of 1856. It was a contest in which sectional lines were finally drawn, and drawn in militant fashion and the dissolution of the Union was made all but certain.

[1] Herndon, II, 382–3. [2] May 23, 1856.
[3] *Illinois State Register*, May 23, 1856.
[4] Herndon to Trumbull, April 24, 1856. Trumbull MSS.
[5] George T. Brown, editor *Quincy Whig*, to Trumbull, May 12, 1856. *Ib.*
[6] Herndon to Trumbull, May 17, 1856. *Ib.*
[7] Same to same, April 24, 1856. *Ib. Illinois State Journal*, May 12, 1856.